MARCH 24, 1989 $1.95

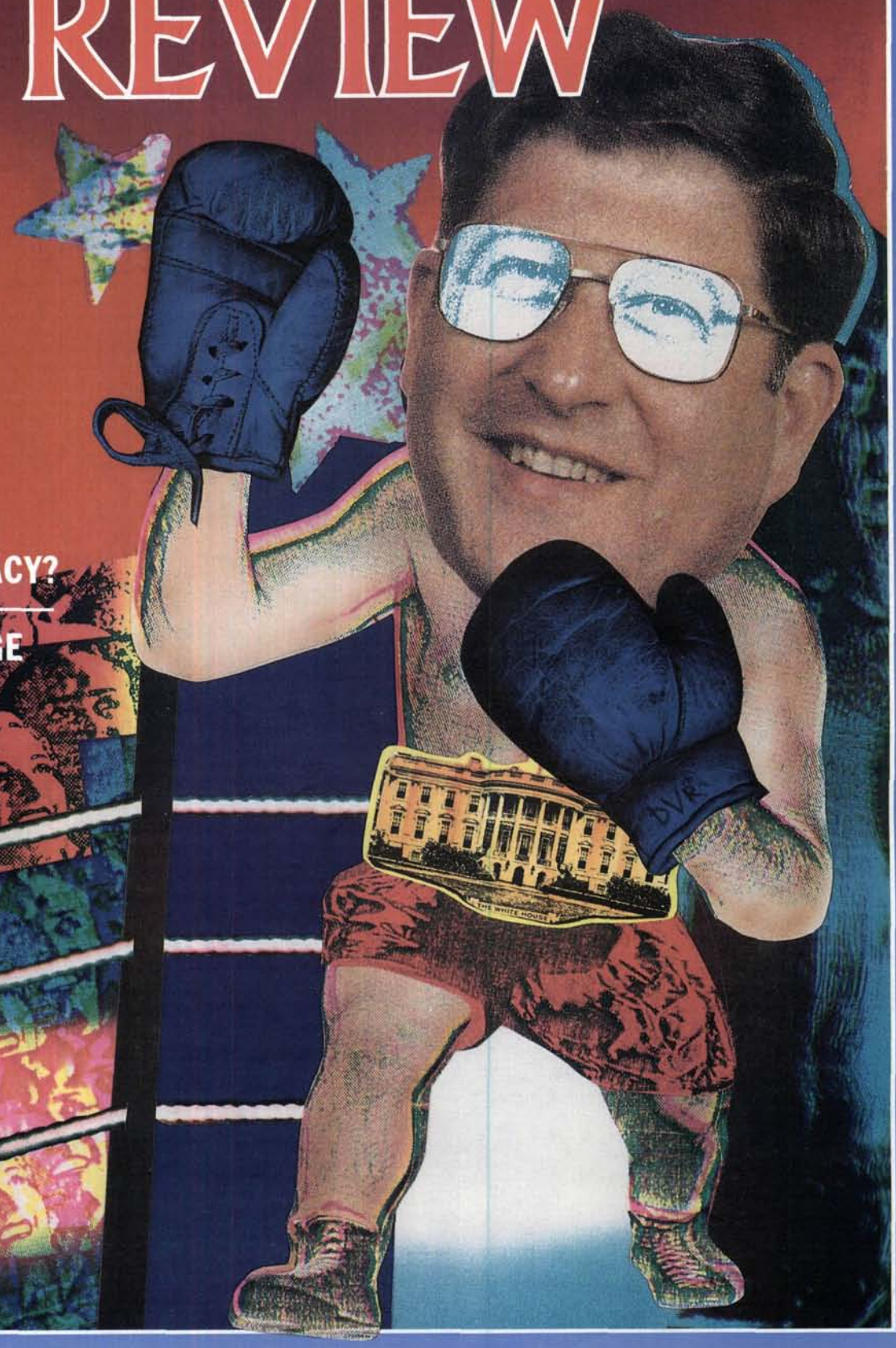
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
IN DEFENSE OF JOHN TOWER

NATIONAL REVIEW

THE GREAT RIGHT HOPE

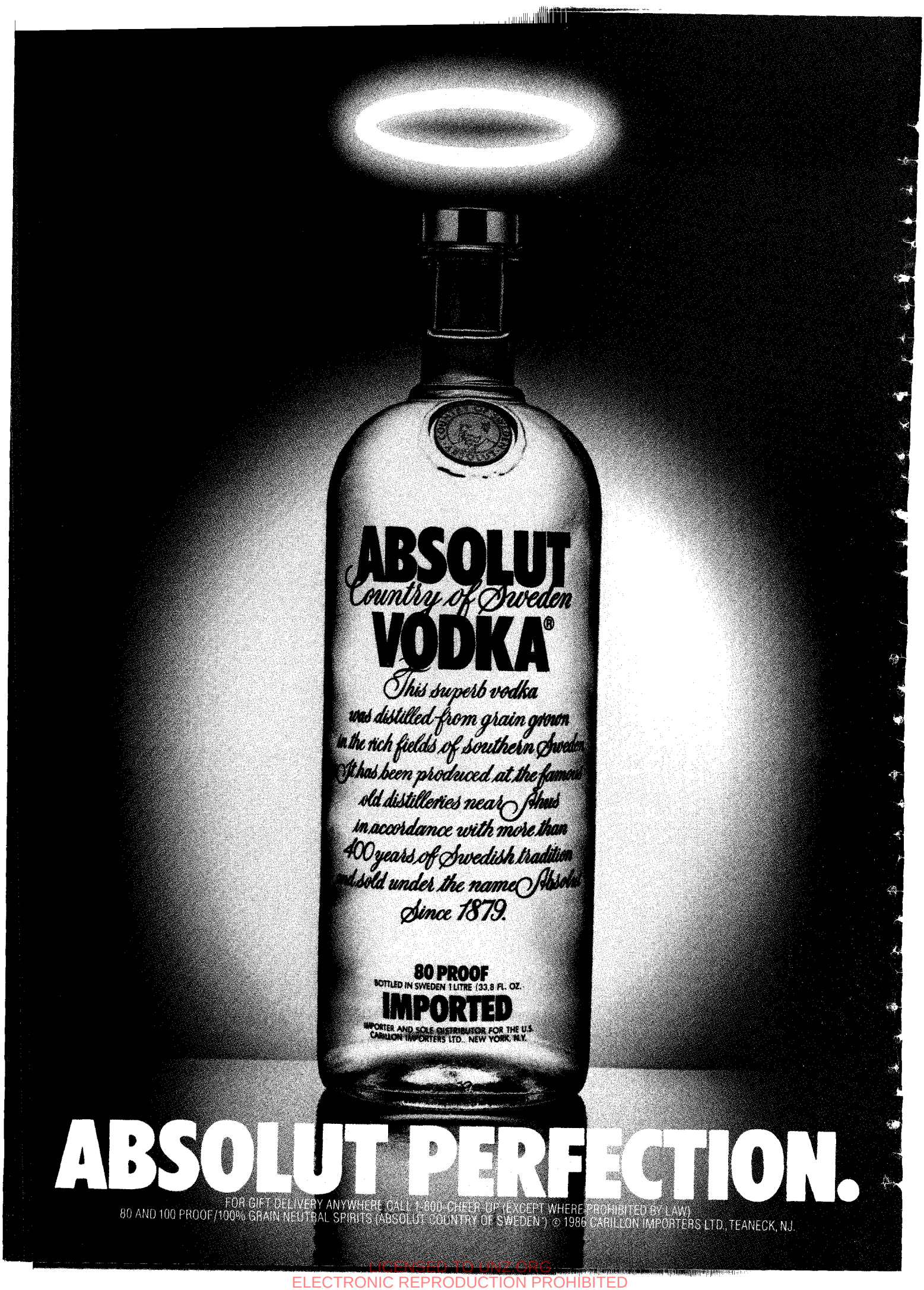
WHAT'S SO GOOD ABOUT DEMOCRACY?

HOW NOT TO WAGE WAR ON DRUGS



0 12
73361 64544

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ABSOLUT
Country of Sweden
VODKA®
This superb vodka
was distilled from grain grown
in the rich fields of southern Sweden.
It has been produced at the famous
old distilleries near Åhus
in accordance with more than
400 years of Swedish tradition
and sold under the name Absolut
Since 1879.
80 PROOF
BOTTLED IN SWEDEN 1 LITRE (33.8 FL. OZ.
IMPORTED
IMPORTER AND SOLE DISTRIBUTOR FOR THE U.S.
CARILLON IMPORTERS LTD., NEW YORK, N.Y.
ABSOLUT PERFECTION.
FOR GIFT DELIVERY ANYWHERE CALL 1-800-CHEER UP (EXCEPT WHERE PROHIBITED BY LAW).
80 AND 100 PROOF/100% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS (ABSOLUT COUNTRY OF SWEDEN®) © 1986 CARILLON IMPORTERS LTD., TEANECK, N.J.

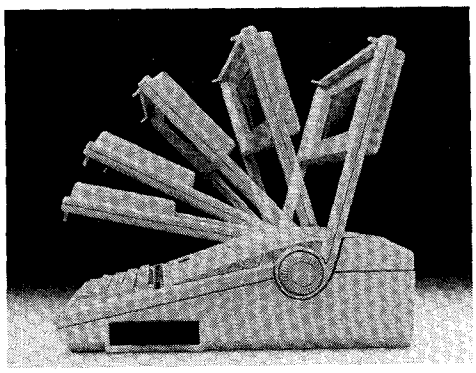
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Word processing anybody can pick up.

Who says word processing is a heavy subject?

The Smith Corona PWP 80 portable word processor is not only light in weight, it can make light work of the most complicated projects.

You don't need a PhD in computer science to understand it.



Our screen adjusts to you, so you don't have to adjust to it.

You don't have to keep one eye on the instruction manual to use it.

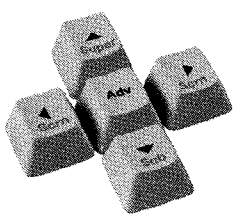
In fact, PWP 80 is so simple to operate, you may not even believe you're actually using a state-of-the-art, fully featured word processor.

All you have to do is unfold it and begin.

You type just as you would on a typewriter. Your text appears on the backlit, supertwist 16 line by 80 character liquid crystal display.

Block moves are a cinch, inserts a snap, deletions a breeze.

When you're ready to print, just insert a sheet of paper, select Print and presto, letter-quality printing.



With PWP 80, everything is at your fingertips.

And that's it.

If you're only writing something short, like a note or recipe, PWP 80 can also function as a conventional, state-of-the-art typewriter.

Of course, there's nothing conventional about PWP 80's features.

Inside, there's 50,000 characters of internal editable memory. (That's about 25 pages.) There's also a built-in disk drive, which makes storage capacity virtually unlimited.

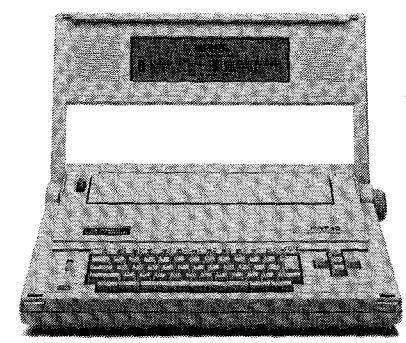
With our amazing Grammar-Right System,™ you'll never write a wrong again. It includes a 75,000 word Spell-Right™ dictionary that alerts you to misspelled words, an Electronic Thesaurus that gives you alternatives to overused words, and Phrase Alert,™ which points out inappropriate phrases—before anyone else does.

DataDisks give you unlimited storage capacity.

And for those of you who are unfamiliar with word processors, we've even included a special Tutorial DataDisk, so you can learn how to use PWP 80 in practically no time.

Best of all, this giant among word processors weighs under 20 pounds. Which means PWP 80 can go wherever you go. From home to school to office.

And that might just be its best feature of all. Because when you consider how remarkable PWP 80 is, it's a wonder you'll want to go anywhere without it.



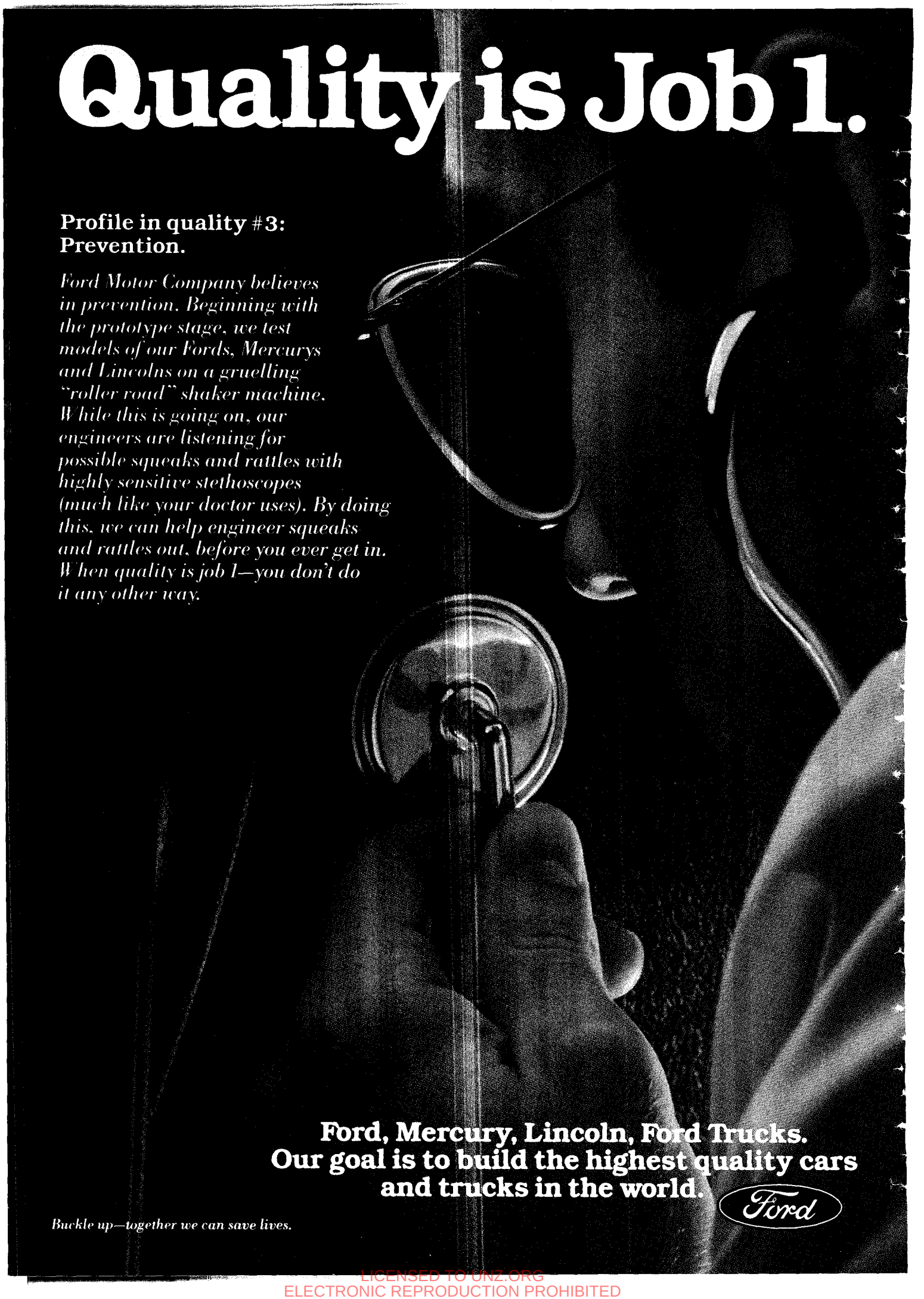
SMITH CORONA®

TOMORROW'S TECHNOLOGY AT YOUR TOUCH

For more information on this product, write to Smith Corona Corporation, 65 Locust Avenue, New Canaan, CT 06840 or Smith Corona (Canada Ltd.), 440 Tapscott Road, Scarborough, Ontario, Canada M1B 1Y4.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Quality is Job 1.



Profile in quality #3: Prevention.

Ford Motor Company believes in prevention. Beginning with the prototype stage, we test models of our Fords, Mercurys and Lincolns on a gruelling "roller road" shaker machine. While this is going on, our engineers are listening for possible squeaks and rattles with highly sensitive stethoscopes (much like your doctor uses). By doing this, we can help engineer squeaks and rattles out, before you ever get in. When quality is job 1—you don't do it any other way.

Ford, Mercury, Lincoln, Ford Trucks.
Our goal is to build the highest quality cars and trucks in the world.

Ford

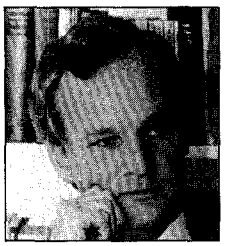
Buckle up—together we can save lives.

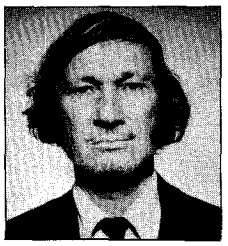
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARCH 24, 1989
VOL. XLI, NO. 5

NATIONAL REVIEW

CROZIER 17


RYN 30


GRENIER 33

LONDON 38

MEET JOHN SUNUNU

24 The Great Right Hope
The new White House chief of staff has had a rough start, but he's shown he can bear the slings and arrows of outrageous politics—and still maintain his principles.
Peter Osterlund

ARTICLES & COLUMNS

20 So Little Change, So Much Difference
Statistically, Americans are as religious as they were fifty years ago—but do the polls measure faith, or religiosity?
Richard John Neuhaus

21 No Quick Drug Fix
Could we win the drug war by supplying addicts on prescription? The British used to think so. Their failure—and growing drug threat—is another warning to Bill Bennett.
Anthony Lejeune

30 The Democracy Boosters
Some conservatives, who should know better, praise democracy as a sort of moral panacea for the world's ills. They forget the Founders' insight—that democracy must be rooted in a moral and prudent citizenry.
Claes G. Ryn

33 Have Typewriter, Will Run
Her economy ruined by socialism and feudalism, Peru has a white knight on the horizon: author and presidential candidate Mario Vargas Llosa. *Richard Grenier*

35 Comrade, Can You Spare A Dime?
Let's face it: the Soviets can never repay all the cash they'd like to borrow. Instead, let's indulge in honest charity—free Xerox machines. *Ernest van den Haag*
M. Donald Coleman

51 A Constitutional Right to Privacy?
In the interests of open debate, we present an argument for the existence of a right to privacy—and a rebuttal. *Harry V. Jaffa*
Joseph Sobran

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

38 **Herbert London** considers *City for Sale* a solid, factual account of Ed Koch's complicity in New York's corruption, but wonders how the authors can be so innocent. . . . If you had any doubts, Judy Shelton's *The Coming Soviet Crash* proves the Soviet economy is a ruin; **Ed Rubenstein** draws the political implications. . . . McGeorge Bundy impresses **Forrest McDonald** with the force of his argument—but not with any hint of an open mind—in the anti-nuclear *Danger and Survival*. . . . **Joseph Sobran** finds *Destructive Generation*, David Horowitz and Peter Collier's anthology on the willful stupidity of their former peers, wise and rather sad. . . . If Salman Rushdie lives, **Aram Bakshian** hopes he develops the genius for objective insight and deft language implicit in *The Satanic Verses*. . . . With *Born Brothers*, Larry Woiwode continues the tale of the eccentric Neumiller family; though **Fred Chappell** hopes the saga doesn't end at its current lowpoint. . . . Plays just don't translate well to the silver screen, sighs **John Simon**. . . . **Nika Hazelton** offers a few good words on the ancient practice of wine snobbery.

5 LETTERS
7 FOR THE RECORD
8 THE WEEK
17 THE PROTRACTED CONFLICT
28 help
48 THE RIGHT BOOKS
54 ON THE RIGHT
56 TRANS-O-GRAM

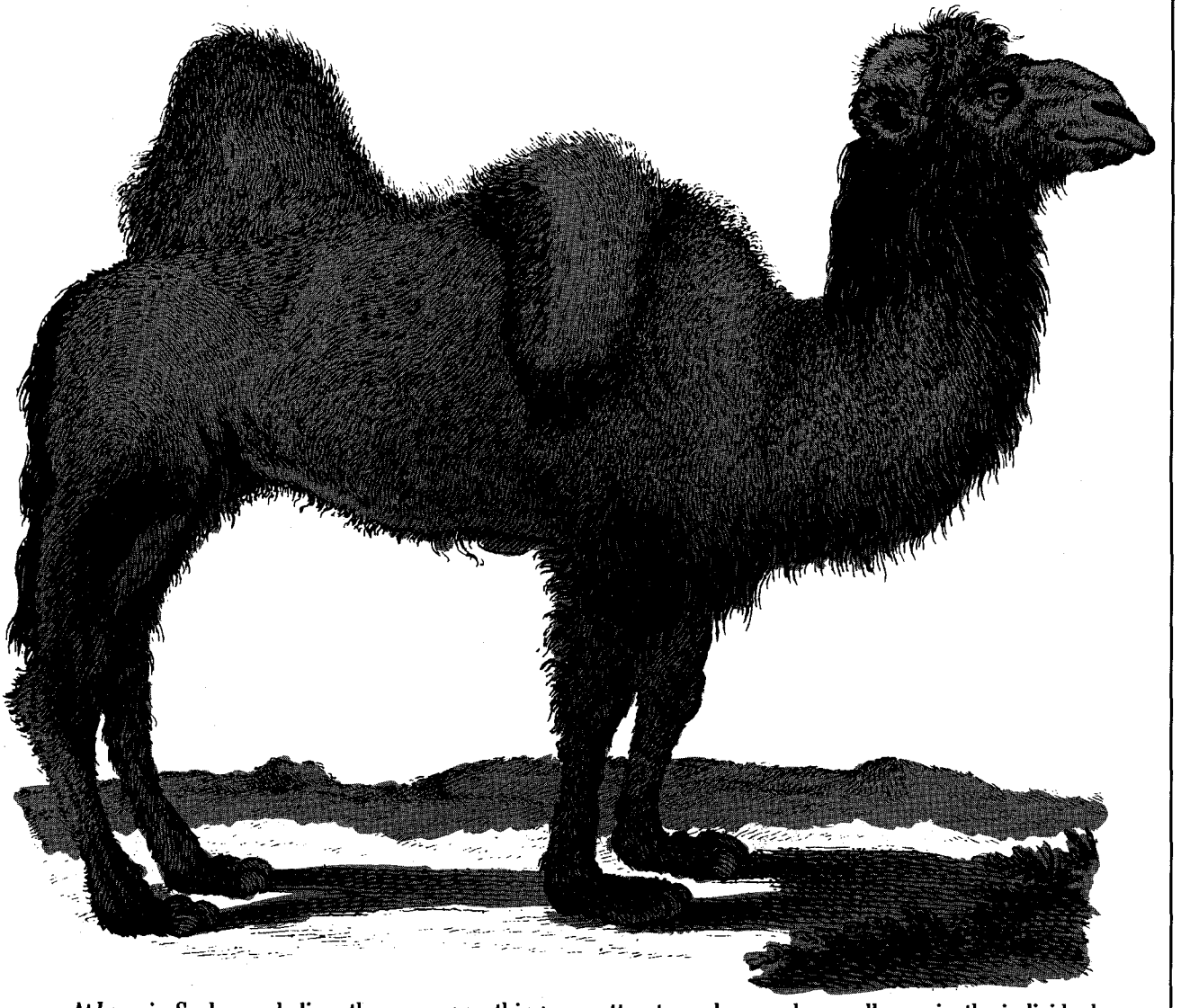
Cover design by Pentagram
Cover art by Dan Romer

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1989. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20077-7471; phone, 800-222-6806. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

RATES: $39.00 a year (25 issues). Add $11.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We Believe Letting More Than One Person Handle Your Pension Investment Is Like Having A Committee Design A Horse.



At Loomis, Sayles, we believe there are some things in life better left in the hands of the individual. And pension fund investments are certainly one of them.

Which is why at Loomis, Sayles, we give our portfolio managers authority to exercise their individual judgment and expertise. Because along with that authority comes responsibility, which, in turn, gives way to a sense of accomplishment, and an energy of surprising intensity.

It's an investment approach that attracts and rewards excellence in the individual.

It's an approach that allows our managers to take advantage of sudden changes and opportunities in the market. Without waiting for a committee response.

It's an approach that, with the backing of our extensive resources, has achieved over $22 billion in assets currently under management.

And for those corporations perceptive enough to realize the benefits of individualized management, it's an approach that may be right for you.

Loomis, Sayles & Company

Investment Counsel Since 1926

Boston Chicago Detroit Memphis Milwaukee New York Pasadena Philadelphia San Francisco Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NR
NATIONAL REVIEW

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-in-Chief*
Wick Allison *Publisher*
John O'Sullivan *Editor*

Senior Editors
Richard Brookhiser / Priscilla L. Buckley
Jeffrey Hart / Joseph Sobran
Chilton Williamson Jr.

Consultant to the Editor
James P. McFadden

Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
John McLaughlin *Washington Editor*

Associate Publisher
Edward A. Capano

Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Brian Crozier
W. H. von Dreele / Frank J. Gaffney Jr.
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Richard John Neuhaus / Alan Reynolds
John Simon / Ralph de Toledano
Ernest van den Haag / Timothy J. Wheeler

Associates
Mark Cunningham / Peter Garvey
David Klinghoffer / Geoffrey Morris
Jane Buckley Smith

Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ione Whitlock *Production Editor*
Patricia L. Sarch *Art Associate*
Lisa Corbin *Copy Editor*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Claire Wirth *Assistant to the Publisher*

Advertising Director
Robert F. Sennott Jr.
Circulation Director
Sylvia Wolinsky
Circulation Manager
Jason Ng

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
Christopher Buckley / John Chamberlain
Mona Charen / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Mary Gauerke
George Gilder / Victor Gold
Malcolm Hancock / Henry Hazlitt
Charles R. Kesler / James Jackson Kilpatrick
Nicholas King / Jan Lukas
Forrest McDonald / Charles Burton Marshall
Thomas Molnar / Joe Mysak
Gerhart Niemeyer / Michael Novak
Grover Joseph Rees
William F. Rickenbacker
Selden Rodman / Francis Russell
J. O. Tate / Terry Teachout
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr.

Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard Carpenter *Athens*

LETTERS

Mother Sam

Messrs. Haskins and Brown make an effective case against creating yet another self-perpetuating bureaucracy with respect to day care ["The Day-Care Reform Juggernaut," March 10]. I feel, however, that the authors make a mistake in relying on studies that purport to show the sufficient quality of existing, nonsubsidized, private day care, and using these studies to argue against the increase in government regulation that would result from the Democrats' ABC bill. What they fail to note is that as long as there is a demand for child care outside the home, there will be a call for such regulation from the "social-planning" junkies in the Democratic Party. And while the additional costs that the ABC bill would impose on poor mothers should certainly be a consideration, the real danger lies in the precedent of allowing the government to require that private centers (and individuals) meet arbitrary standards before they receive licenses.

The root of the problem is, of course, the "hoax of modern social legislation," which is, as the authors write, that "families can safely yield yet another responsibility to big government." While government has done its best to maintain that ethic—for instance, by increasing the cost of having children through tax policy—this only partially explains the widespread concession of responsibility to government in areas once thought the sole prerogative of the family. It is a measure of the extent of the breakdown of social norms in this country that many mothers are demanding that government subsidize their wish to have their children brought up by "professionals" so that they might be free to pursue their careers. The only professionals qualified to raise children are mothers.

B. C. Robertson
New York, N.Y.

Hooray for the Red and Blue

Perhaps Jeffrey Hart is projecting too much Dartmouth sentiment onto his fellow Ivy Leaguers when he says that "Today's Ivy League is embarrassed by football" ["Murder in Broad Daylight," Feb. 10]. At least at my alma mater, the tradition is alive and well. Not only is "The Red and Blue" sung by nearly all at the games, it's even been heard to be whistled by people strolling down Locust Walk. In fact, new traditions have even been instituted by students, such as the cascade of toast that streams from Franklin Field's upper deck when the line (from "Drink a Highball") "Here's a toast to dear old Penn" is sung during the third period. Inventive for a bunch of peacenik cultural relativists, don't you think?

Professor Hart's lament should have been more geographically restricted. Yes, many Indians are embarrassed by football, as well they should be, given their team's performances of late. But we who cheer for the Ivy League's southernmost representative are justifiably proud and excited by our mighty Quakers. Average crowds in Philadelphia of almost thirty thousand may be a far cry from those of Chuck Bednarik's day, but they're still proof that it's premature to be sounding the death knell of Ivy League football. Except perhaps for the Big Green Native Americans of Dartmouth College.

Gordon T. Anderson
University of Pennsylvania '86
Washington, D.C.

Jazz Notes

Ralph de Toledano states ["Books, Arts & Manners," Feb. 10] that the Preservation Hall Jazz Band has been in existence "since the turn of the century." Not so. The hall (on St. Peter Street in New Orleans) and its touring namesake were pioneered in the mid 1950s by the late Allan Jaffe, jazz historian and performer. This was an effort to preserve what was then a dying art, New Orleans Dixieland jazz.

Jeff Matlock
St. Petersburg, Fla.

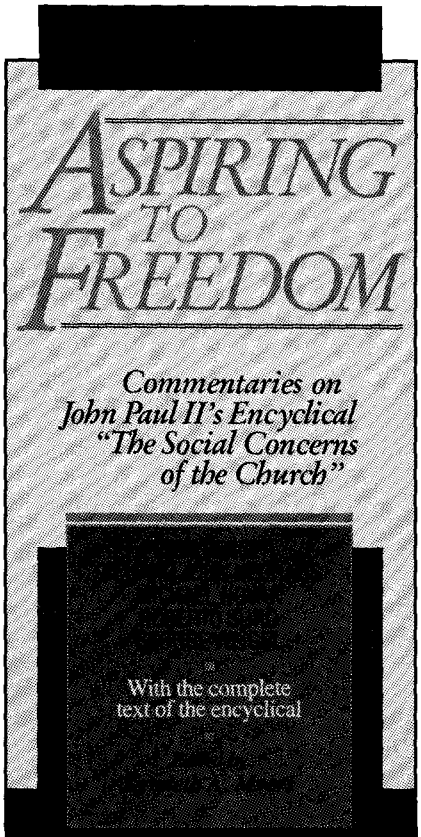
Mr. Matlock is correct. But unless my recollection of New Orleans jazz history is faulty, there were Preservation Hall bands in the past, well before the mid 1950s, playing the same kind of music as the current group. Today's Preservation Hall Band is a lineal descendant, if not a clone, of the bands that kept the New Orleans tradition alive. And it is the tradition that counts, not the name.

—RDT

Interpreting Vietnam

Since arriving in this country some 13 years ago, I have never stopped being amused by the errors made by Ameri-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ASPIRING TO FREEDOM
Commentaries on John Paul II's Encyclical "The Social Concerns of the Church"
With the complete text of the encyclical

by Peter Berger, Richard John Neuhaus, Michael Novak, Roberto Suro, George Weigel
Edited by Kenneth A. Myers

In this book five interested and informed students of Catholic social teaching offer comment on the papal encyclical, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis,* each from the perspective of his own area of expertise. The introduction provides an informative discussion of what an encyclical is (and is not), a brief survey of past papal encyclicals, and a look at the importance of the current encyclical for Christians (both Roman Catholics and others) and non-Christians. In addition the book reprints the full text of the encyclical, which offers readers a convenient reference while reading the commentaries that follow.

Paper, $10.95

At your bookstore, or call 1-800-633-9326

868 WM. B. EERDMANS PUBLISHING CO. Grand Rapids, Michigan

cans when dealing with the Vietnam experience. Professor Francis Winters ["They Shoot Allies, Don't They?" Nov. 25] should do more homework on the basic facts:

—Ngo Dinh Diem and Ho Chi Minh were not born in the same city. Ho's native village is two hundred miles north of Hué, where Ngo was born.

—The Ho Chi Minh Trail was not constructed in 1962, but in 1957, a year after Diem refused an American recommendation to set up a general referendum to reunite the two Vietnams, according to North Vietnamese Army General Van Tien Dung.

—Where did Professor Winters get the figure of four million Vietnamese Buddhists? Even the highest-ranking Buddhist leaders didn't know, and still don't know, how many Buddhists there are.

—The biggest laugh I got from Professor Winters was his assertion that Tri Quang was a "successful lawyer" who "entered a Buddhist monastery in 1958." I've read Tri Quang was a Communist agent, a CIA agent—but this is the best! The fact is Tri Quang started his priesthood after he finished elementary school around 1933.

—Ambassador Lodge never ordered "CIA Chief of Station John Richardson to proceed directly to step two of the plan, alerting the generals that Washington had given the green light for a coup," because the generals' suspicion of Richardson (from his close ties with Diem's brother, the security chief) was so deep that Ambassador Lodge was forced to send Richardson back to the U.S. one month before the coup.

But enough of Professor Winters's expertise. My main point is that Diem's removal was a correct decision. It was as correct as the downfall of Marcos, Duvalier, and the Shah of Iran. It was correct because it was the people's will. The joy of the people in the streets of Manila, Port-au-Prince, and Teheran was the same as in Saigon on that first day of November 1963.

Chi Huu Do
Sacramento, Calif.

Professor Winters Replies

I welcome the correction on the location of Ho's birthplace. The regrettable error is, however, extraneous to the argument being set out. That argument (tracing the antipodal pilgrimages of self-determination begun from virtually identical starting points by Ho and Diem until the moment in 1963 when their paths converged—through emissaries—in New Delhi) is amply supported by the fact that Ho once studied in the school founded by Diem's father, where Diem himself later studied (Hammer, *A Death in November*, p. 13).

Mr. Do misinterprets the argument about Harriman and the Ho Chi Minh Trail. Its construction ("initially only a footpath") was authorized by the Central Committee of North Vietnam in 1959; it underwent continuous improvement until 1975. But after the Laos Accords, its expansion and utilization were legally shielded from attack by Harriman's "diplomacy" (Kahin, *Intervention*, p. 116).

The statistics on the number of Buddhists are taken from official estimates by the General Association of Buddhists, published at Xa Loi Pagoda, Tri Quang's base in Saigon. (Hammer, pp. 139, 183).

Tri Quang's training as a lawyer as well as his entry into the Tu Dam Pagoda (Hué) in 1958 are attested by Higgins (*Our Vietnam Nightmare*, p. 31).

Richardson's active role in soliciting a coup is amply documented in the *Pentagon Papers* (II, 735-737, Documents #126-29). It was likewise personally confirmed for me in an interview with William Colby, at that time chief of the Far Eastern division of the CIA.

Mr. Do's most interesting contribution is his claim that Diem's removal was "correct" since it represented "the people's will." Evidence for this popular support (beyond some Saigon circles) of the American-engineered coup will be welcome to historians. Without such (presently unavailable) evidence, the question of whether Diem would have eventually succeeded in forming a federal union with Ho, thereby sparing his country the war, will remain speculative. For the Kennedy Administration pre-empted that option. Kennedy's fellow citizens, as well as Vietnamese, will long ponder this question of "the path not taken." We Americans had promises to keep, especially the pledge by Kennedy to Diem not to interfere in the internal workings of the Republic of South Vietnam (cf. Nolting, *From Trust to Tragedy*, pp. 41, 139, 140).

Francis X. Winters
Washington, D.C.

When in the Course of . . .

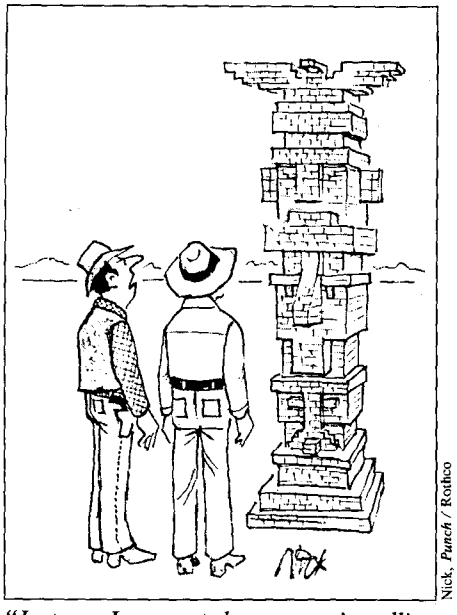
Among conservative periodicals, Ernest van den Haag ["The War between Paleos and Neos," Feb. 24] should have included the daddy of them all, *Human Events*. This weekly made its debut 11 years before NATIONAL REVIEW and, like *NR*, is hospitable to conservatives of every school.

Neil McCaffrey
President, Conservative Book Club
Harrison, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOR THE RECORD

What do the people think about the **Tower** nomination? ABC News/*Washington Post* poll published March 1 found 52 per cent in favor of Tower's confirmation (43 per cent opposed); 56 per cent agreed that his drinking habits would not "make him unfit" to serve as Secretary of Defense. . . . Sen. **Malcolm Wallop** says the rejection of John Tower by Armed Services Committee "was designed and planned from the start" by Senate Democrats as a show of power over President **Bush**. . . . **Jeane Kirkpatrick**, who says she admires **Sam Nunn**, finds that he voted "like a Democrat" on this one. . . . Sen. **John McCain** (R., Ariz.) pooh-poohs Nunn's statement that Tower would be dangerous as the man with his finger on the nuclear button: "The last I heard, the only man with his finger on the button is the President of the United States, and I think the American people would be very upset to learn that the President had delegated that authority." . . . Columnist **Charles Krauthammer** comments: "The next thing you know the Secretary of Health and Human Services will be requested to take a safe-sex oath." . . . And **George Will**, who takes a surgical scalpel to the reasons Democrats on Armed Services gave for rejecting Tower, proclaims a Rule: "In Washington, when four reasons are given for doing something, the real reason is none of the four." On Nunn, Will has this to say: "It is simply smarmy for him to issue those simpering disclaimers ('I'm not saying . . .') while destroying a man's reputation, career, and life with studied ambiguities." . . . **Mary McGrory** is not surprised that Bush could have stooped so low as to have chosen Tower in the first place. "Although he professes to ethical sensibilities, [Bush] spent eight years in the **Reagan** White House where the motto was: 'Anything Goes.' "



Nick, *Punch* / Rothco

"Just as I suspected—someone's selling them Lego."

Republicans in the House, long battered by Democratic majorities, have come out fighting this year. **Ed Rollins**, head of the National Republican Congressional Committee, has targeted House Speaker **Jim Wright** as the man to get. Says Rollins: "I'm going to force a lot of Democrats to stand up and defend Wright," whose tangled affairs are now under investigation by the House ethics committee. . . . Rep. **Tony Coelho**, Democratic Whip, finds it "irresponsible" for Rollins to have gone on the offensive within six weeks of Inauguration. . . . At Republican National Committee **Lee Atwater** shrugs off Democratic charges that the GOP is racist (**David Duke** affair). He's going after the black votes, says Atwater, and that "infuriates" Democrats. "It scares them." . . . The Republican Study Committee in the House—focal point of conservative activity in that chamber—has elected **Bob Dornan** (Calif.), an aggressive conservative, as its chairman. . . . Looking ahead, Rep. **Mickey Edwards**, chairman of House Republican Policy Committee, is circulating letter to 174 Republican congressmen asking their support of Bush veto on any future tax bill (140 votes are needed to sustain a veto in the House).

Right on! **Sam Francis**, deputy editorial page editor of the *Washington Times*, has won Distinguished Writing Award for editorials from the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the highest professional accolade yet given the *Times*. . . . Cause and effect? The largest drop in applications in the Ivy League this year was at Dartmouth, down 18 per cent (Harvard and Yale enrollment were down 8 and 6 per cent respectively). . . . Nation is evenly split on whether **Oliver North** should be tried (45 per cent against, 43 in favor).

Glasnost reverberations: Polish Prime Minister **Mieczyslaw Rakowski** pointedly attended a performance of plays by **Vaclav Havel** the very week that Czech authorities sentenced Havel to prison for having taken part in demonstration honoring **Jan Palach**, the Czech student hero of Prague Spring. . . . In neighboring Hungary, workers are now planning to form a Solidarity union modeled after the still-banned movement of **Lech Walesa** in Poland. . . . An East German Communist theorist, **Otto Reinhold**, last week publicly blasted **Gorbachev**'s economic reforms, echoing the statement by East German Politburo member **Robert Hager** that there is "no need to repaper the wall because a neighbor does it"—even if that neighbor is Big Brother. . . . Reports from Islamabad say that ten thousand Afghan army troops—two army regiments plus militiamen—deserted to the *mujahedin* the day after last Soviet troops withdrew Feb. 15. . . . Recent polls show 80 per cent of West Germans want all nuclear weapons removed from Europe. . . . And a Media General/AP study shows 74 per cent of Americans don't believe **Yasir Arafat** has rejected terrorism; only 6 per cent do.

Prize for most convoluted reason to oppose John Tower goes to Sen. **Tim Wirth** (D., Colo.). Rumors of Tower's womanizing, said Wirth, might set an "example" that might cause women in the military to be "discriminated against." Or might not.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

☐ John Tower wants to be Secretary of Defense badly enough to take the pledge. Gary Hart didn't want the Presidency that much.

☐ William Lucas, the black Democrat-turned-Republican who ran unsuccessfully, and with scant national GOP support, for the governorship of Michigan in 1986, has been picked to be head of the civil-rights division of the Justice Department. Lucas, who opposes reverse-discrimination quotas (citing his own career as an instance of their irrelevance), has gotten the usual flak from the usual people: "not generally known as having a very solid civil-rights background," snore. The Republican Establishment gets credit for retrieving its wounded from the field. Now if they could get a little more support in battle . . .

☐ Attorney General Richard Thornburgh has decided to reconsider the scheduled deportation of a convicted IRA killer, Joseph Doherty, to England. Doherty killed a British army captain in a 1980 ambush, escaped from a maximum-security prison in Belfast in 1981, and was arrested in New York in 1983. Last year Edwin Meese ruled that he should be sent back to England. But Doherty's partisans in Congress contend that his offense was "political," so Thornburgh has stayed the order. Crazy. Doherty was convicted for murder, not for the views that drove him to it. The views are political. The act was criminal.

☐ Was there anything at stake but race in last week's Chicago Democratic primary? Not so as you could tell from the national press coverage of the story. Richard Daley's victory became a symbol of resurgent racism, and Chicago became the first major city in which a black incumbent mayor had been turned out by a white. True, 94 per cent of the blacks voted for Eugene Sawyer, and 91 per cent of the whites for Daley. But why did 84 per cent of the Hispanics choose Daley over Sawyer? And why did 83 per cent of the Jews—a consistent liberal-Democratic bloc—also turn their backs on Sawyer? Could it have been that he had not performed satisfactorily as mayor? Chicagoans probably know, but to the rest of the nation Chicago's vast and complex problems were boiled down to a single factor: race.

☐ A group gathered in Washington last week to reaffirm its conservatism and draw inspiration from Vice President Dan Quayle, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Jesse Helms, Jack Kemp, Lee Atwater, Ollie North, and more. Dan Casey, a member of the American Conservative Union, the conference's co-sponsor (along with Young Americans for Freedom, in cooperation with *Human Events* and NATIONAL REVIEW), described most of those present as "cautiously optimistic" about the Bush Administration, though concerned about the lack of substance in many of its early foreign-policy and judicial appointments. The coalition that Ronald Reagan cemented during his eight years in office is still alive and kicking in Washington, though the ideas may not be stated as loudly by Mr. Bush. We trust that though the voice is the voice of Jacob, the hands are the hands of Esau. If not, the Esauites will surely be heard from.

☐ *Money* magazine asked fifty professional tax preparers to calculate the federal income taxes for a make-believe family, and got fifty different answers. The results ranged from tax bills of $12,539 to $35,813. They should have been $23,393, according to the accountant who prepared the test, but what does he know, and that makes 51. This is the sort of thing that happens when Congress writes a tax code, that is, "reforms" its previous tax code, that is, taxes. Why is it things worked so much better when the government made its buck selling land?

☐ Shortly after the canonization of Bishop Tutu, the

The Week That Was

In Tokyo, Tower was there at the tomb;
In China, he sat in the audience room,
And when they descended, exhausted, in Seoul,
His presence was riveting, like a black hole.
However it ends, Mr. Tower will look
Like something a shepherd hauled in with a crook:
Not dead, to be sure, but too battered to bleat
When Gorbachev tenders a *carte de visite.*

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

IT WAS PROBABLY inevitable; no Washington figure can forever enjoy the unadulterated reverence from press and pol that James Baker has commanded over the last few years. Still, Baker's decidedly listless debut as Secretary of State has left erstwhile admirers gnashing their teeth in frustration, and has triggered grumblings from both Right and Left within Washington's foreign-policy establishment.

"When are we going to have a foreign policy?" asks one senior Senate Republican. "That's what everyone is waiting to find out."

One need do little more than scan recent headlines for evidence of a foreign policy cast adrift. Baker has cut a handsome swath on the diplomatic circuit; the nightly news for a while there was chockablock with images of his get-acquainted handshakes in 14 NATO capitals. But when it has been time to deal with the substance of foreign policy, the secretary has been caught unprepared, stumbling about for responses to ongoing diplomatic machinations in Central America, missile modernization in West Germany, and the imam's death threat against Salman Rushdie.

Savvy foreign-policy types profess not to be surprised by the flurry of inaction at State. Richard Nixon, the *éminence grise* of foreign-policy realists, is said to have been disappointed by a meeting he held with Baker after the elections. "All he wanted to talk about was tactics," a senior diplomatic official quotes Nixon as saying. "He didn't want to talk about substance."

Baker has brought to State the modus operandi he honed at Treasury, surrounding himself with a coterie of trusted aides and ignoring the perspective of senior officials in the bureaucracy. That approach worked well enough at Treasury—one cannot be better equipped to deal with Congress than with a Machiavellian like Richard Darman at one's side—but it doesn't work as well in the foreign arena, where even the most savvy political operator can be blindsided through ignorance of the political and social dynamics at work in some other corner of the globe.

For example, Baker ran into trouble in West Germany during his NATO tour largely because his aides hadn't warned him of what was afoot. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl had anticipated that Baker would reiterate the U.S. line about the need for West Germany to commit itself to the modernization of NATO's aging Lance short-range nuclear missile. So he launched a pre-emptive strike, telling the *Financial Times* a few days before Baker's visit that a decision would not be needed before 1990 or 1991, as much as the United States would have liked a commitment right away.

Baker was left looking foolish. Insufficiently prepared to improvise an appropriate response to Kohl's broadside, he could only parrot the previously established U.S. line like some sort of ambassadorial cockatoo. True, he may have come back from the NATO tour with new insights into the modernization issue. But if this was the only point of the trip (which it wasn't), couldn't he have gotten that much from some of the professionals at State whose job it is to glean such insights?

The information gap was even more pronounced when, early last month, the presidents of the five Central American democracies signed a new peace agreement with the Sandinistas. That constituted a clear signal that the Central Americans were not about to wait for U.S. direction on Nicaragua. Fair enough. The extraordinary thing was that Baker was said to have been "stunned" by their action, coming as it did after he had met with two foreign ministers from the region.

The Salman Rushdie affair seems to further underscore the political languor settling in at State. President Bush finally termed Khomeini's threats "deeply offensive," but only after certain highly influential Washington insiders pleaded directly with the White House for response. They had tried the State Department first but, in the words of one congressional aide privy to the exchange, "found the Baker contingent curiously uninterested."

All of this is not to say Baker won't yet turn out to be a fine Secretary of State. At this writing, several key State Department appointments have yet to be announced and several of those that have been announced have yet to be confirmed by the Senate. In addition, many of the loudest complaints come from foreign-service officials who, we might add, have never met a secretary they really felt was good enough. And some of Baker's inaction, it can be argued, has been for the best: since the U.S. waited on the Europeans to take the lead in condemning Iran over Rushdie, the global condemnation seems much more, well, global, and not merely a plot hatched by the Great Satan to undermine the glorious revolution.

But was that an accident, or part of a brilliant diplomatic design? The behavior of State in general these days suggests the former. Washington is waiting breathlessly for the full team to be in place there, waiting to see whether the diplomacy of default will be supplanted by something a bit more calculating. —CATO

West found a new South African paragon—Winnie Mandela, "mother of the nation." Great was the praise lavished on her by all enlightened intellects. For a while it seemed that nothing could tarnish her tinsel. Not when she lavished funds on an elaborate home in Soweto. Not when she declared: "With our matchboxes and necklaces we shall liberate the nation." Necklacing, remember, was the favorite torture-death inflicted by anti-government South African blacks on their black foes. They would seize a suspected government agent, tie his arms behind his back, place a tire around his neck, pour gasoline into the tire, light it up, and watch the victim slowly burn to death. Mrs. Mandela thought this was jim-dandy. It was only after her personal thugs beat four teenage boys, one to death, that the African National Congress disowned her. But the outcry against her from the West has yet to come. Our Big Domes can only mobilize against one excess at a time, and the ayatollah has the floor.

☐ The *New York Times* reports, as if you didn't

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

know, that kids' attitudes toward sex really are different these days. They feel, in the words of one sociologist, "a sense that they alone call the shots on their sexual behavior." Another expert notes that even the best-educated parents no longer "know how to deal with their children's sexual activity." The kids themselves aren't amenable to adult discipline or advice, but at the same time they feel pressured by their peers to go further than they really want to. Girls ask their doctors for contraceptives, saying "they don't really enjoy sex but are doing it because their boyfriend wanted it," says a gynecologist. In short, more and more kids are making decisions and even commitments, of sorts, that they simply aren't mature enough to make, setting aside the morality of it. "Nobody cares any more whether or not you're a virgin," says Denisse Rosario. She's a "tutor and volunteer counselor" for Planned Parenthood in the South Bronx. And she's fifteen.

☐ MY FUNNY VALENTINE DEPT.: Marc Christian hit the jackpot, after a fashion, when a jury awarded him $22 million in damages from the estate of his former—well, Rock Hudson, who neglected to mention having contracted AIDS, but nevertheless kept on having—*you* know—a relationship. Unfortunately, the Hudson estate is only worth $6 million. "You can't squeeze blood from a turnip," said a lawyer for the estate, apparently referring to some kinky practice we hadn't heard about.

☐ Out of the frontiers of jurisprudence, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire is wrestling with the question of how many belches are legal. You didn't know they could be illegal? It seems that if you belch into a Breathalyzer you convey excess alcohol from the stomach and invalidate the test. It is then necessary to wait twenty minutes for the mouth to be clear again. The case concerns a motorist who belched twice, was accused of stalling, and had his license taken away. A salient feature of his defense is that he had had a couple of beers and a couple of hot dogs, and couldn't help it. He did say "excuse me," police concede.

☐ Mr. Norman Mailer and Miss Susan Sontag will give a public reading of passages from *The Dartmouth Review* outside 150 East 35th Street on March 13 at 4 P.M. Music and refreshments.

☐ We don't pretend to have any first-hand knowledge about the Fonda-Hayden breakup, but our source—okay, the *National Enquirer*—quotes a friend quoting Hayden as saying, "Our relationship used to be full of fire and political excitement. Now when I come home and start talking about pollution problems or helping the poor, Jane practically yawns in my face—or snaps at me to shut up." Always a bad sign. Even more ominously, when Hayden protested about her flirtations with other men, Jane snarled, "Go save a whale or something."

☐ Look on the bright side. As long as Father Healy is head of the New York Public Library, he won't be running some Catholic institution.

☐ SENATE WATCH: In the light of the John Tower confirmation hearings, we hereby invite our readers to send us their favorite samples of senatorial sobriety, fidelity, and financial scrupulosity. Winners will receive the Edward Kennedy/Howard Metzenbaum Memorial Award for Outstanding Achievement.

Saint George And the Congressional Dragon

IF JOHN TOWER should be rejected by the full Senate—the auguries are uncertain at the time of writing—it would be a victory for the worst forces in American life: for sanctimoniousness, narrow-minded puritanism, selective hypocrisy, and the overweening arrogance of Congress and the media.

The congressional hue, the media cry, the character assassination masquerading as concern for ethics—all the techniques developed and perfected against Robert Bork and Ed Meese—have been wheeled into play against Mr. Tower. The media's role, now as then, has been that of set designer and stagehand, creating an atmosphere of endless revelation. Revelation of what? Of vague rumors and unsubstantiated allegations, floated, briefly examined, abandoned to the *National Enquirer*, and then succeeded by the next "revelation."

Democratic senators, plainly bent on depriving a Republican President of his traditional authority, solemnly warn that even if such rumors prove baseless, they nonetheless constitute a new constitutional barrier to high office. It turns out to be the old Victorian barrier of "appearances." To ensure that senators themselves are not discomfited by inconvenient "appearances," they have evolved a neat division of labor. Sober husbands in receipt of junkèts from defense contractors criticize Mr. Tower's drinking and womanizing; while Senator Kennedy worries about his conflicts of interest.

Tower's chief tormentor has been Senator Sam Nunn, self-proclaimed defense conservative and the eternal bridesmaid of the Democratic nominating process. In 1984 Nunn, having known Tower for over a decade, praised his "talent, wisdom, and experience" as "national assets." Today he advises his fellow Democrats to vote against this paragon for the weaselly reason that "it's the appearance that is so bad." Nunn's 1964 conviction for leaving the scene of an

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accident itself gives rise to numerous unfortunate "appearances": in short order, those of a drunken escapade, the exercise of influence to reduce the charge (want to bet that the media search for Quayle's alleged use of "influence" to join the National Guard won't be copied on this one?), and rampant hypocrisy. But after considering the matter, Senator Nunn has decided to overlook it entirely. It won't affect his candidacy to be Congress's Defense Secretary.

For that is the point at issue. Tower doubtless has his faults, but he is competent, expert in the field, and patriotic. Security "concerns" about him are nonsense. The FBI is unlikely to have discovered anything about Tower that 24 years in the gossipy, inbred Senate had not revealed to Senators Glenn ("I've no doubt he would make a good Secretary of Defense"), Gore ("exemplary in every way" as START negotiator), Inouye ("dedication and attention to detail . . . unsurpassed" as chairman of the Armed Forces Committee), and Nunn himself (see above). As the 11 to 9 party-line split in the committee vote showed, this was politics pure and simple: a power grab by congressional Democrats.

President Bush began lobbying for Tower as soon as he returned from the Far East. But he fought like an umpire, appealing for "fair play . . . honor . . . decency." Doesn't he know there's a war on? Defense Secretary is one of the most important posts in his Cabinet. Appointing a Defense Secretary is one of the most important powers a President has. If Tower survives, presidential authority will be vindicated and protected—for the moment. If he falls, Congress will be encouraged to encroach further upon it. In either event, President Bush must now prepare to wage an all-out struggle against the Hill in defense of his own powers and of the opinions expressed by the American people in three elections. We'll drink to that —even if Mr. Tower can't.

Tory Budget, Whig Reasoning

THE CONSENSUS of pundits for a month now has been that President Bush outfoxed Congress in the first stages of the budget process. Time will tell whether he hasn't also outfoxed himself.

His cunning became evident to its victims, the Democrats, the day after his budget message the first week of February. Bush purred soothingly, the Democrats purred back. No statist boats rocked. When Congress came to examine the numbers, however, it grew alarmed. The Bush budget included a $136-billion black box, a bundle of programs for which total spending was projected to hold steady, with no upward adjustments for inflation. Where the cutbacks were to come from was left to the Democrats. "Mr. Bush chose to give us only the good news," complained House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta. "He has left it for Congress to give the American people the bad news."

The Democrats' first response was to threaten to wash their hands of the whole mess, and let Gramm-Rudman-Hollings cuts come into effect—the thinking being that the Administration would not want to see defense spending crippled. But surely Congress is even less willing to take the blame for across-the-board cuts in social programs. Given Michael Dukakis's unfortunate experience in the tank, does Congress also want to be responsible for weakening America?

The problem Bush's masterminds seem not to have noticed is that, though they may win the debate, it will still be a debate cast in Democratic terms—that is, aggregate spending totals. The presumption remains that civilization advances through the expenditure of public funds; Republicans' only virtue is to spend them more prudently. Instead of a clash of philosophies, we have a squabble of accountants. It was noted, for instance, that the Bush budget cuts Aid to Families with Dependent Children from $10.8 billion to $9.6 billion. Since everyone from Bill Moyers to sanity now recognizes that AFDC was responsible for destroying the black urban family, why are there any billions going into it at all? Small amounts of new spending, slipped in here and there to fulfill campaign promises, will enter the statute books and slumber, like seven-year locusts, until they become big spending.

The Bush budget contains a number of intellectual departures—child-care tax credits, enterprise zones. How much more satisfying if these had been symbols of the new Administration, instead of details.

Adrift in Central America

Baker was in Europe
  Touching NATO noses;
Bush was in the Senate
  Working fire hoses,
When the Sandinistas
  Hit them with a whammy,
And the Contras started
  Packing for Miami.

W. H. VON DREELE

Shortest Education Presidency?

RUMOR HAS IT that George Bush will soon devote a "theme" week to education. Perhaps his oft-stated desire to be the "education President" will then acquire a sharp message and some clear ideas. But he's off to a sorry start.

To be sure, he spoke of education in his budget message and—by way of making good on campaign

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pledges—added money and programs to the federal apparatus. But he thereby displayed once again his failure to grasp the central distinction between the nation's education woes, which are grave and beg for presidential leadership, and the role of the Federal Government itself, which is marginal and should stay that way. The worst signal the White House can send—and is now transmitting—is that Uncle Sam will shoulder responsibility for fixing what ails American schools and colleges.

William Bennett understood this. So did Reagan. It is not evident that anybody in the Bush Administration does. Certainly no one at the Education Department today has his mind around the core precepts of education reform. The place is inert. The Reagan-Bennett team is gone—pink slips are still being handed to the remnants—and nobody has been installed in key posts.

Except, of course, in the secretary's office, where sits the result of a blunder. If George Bush had set out to mis-diagnose and mis-state the nation's education problems he couldn't have recruited a better lieutenant than Lauro F. Cavazos.

Though Mr. Cavazos is by all accounts a scholar and a gentleman, he is entirely a creature of the education establishment—and its innumerable associations, lobbyists, and unionists are delighted with his appointment. The higher-education crowd is especially charmed; he is, after all, one of their own, a university president for the past decade. No one need fear that he will lambaste the academy's rootless curricula, politicized faculties, inefficient institutions, and exorbitant prices. Instead he is seeking yet additional money on their behalf, and makes no secret of his dismay that OMB didn't find more lucre for this purpose. (Congress will probably oblige him.)

About the nation's decrepit primary and secondary schools, Mr. Cavazos appears to have but one firm judgment: too many youngsters are dropping out of them. For the Education Secretary to lament the dropout rate is roughly equivalent, in imagination and courage, to the Labor Secretary voicing unhappiness about unemployment or the Commerce Secretary expressing dismay with the trade gap.

Pledged to place an Hispanic-American in his Cabinet, Bush chose the Education Department for his affirmative action. And he got a twofer, since Cavazos is also a Democrat and a liberal. (At his first staff meeting, he announced that if the United States had a strong enough education system it wouldn't need a Defense Department!)

Bennett's prime achievement was to tell the truth about education. He also went a long way toward transforming the Education Department from a greedy apologist for the education establishment into an advocate for the public's interest in better schools and colleges. Lauro Cavazos seems bent on turning it back into the agency that Jimmy Carter designed.

There were fifty better candidates for this post. Had Bush picked one of them, he might already be well embarked on becoming the "education President" the nation needs. He didn't.

The End of Roe?

IT IS FITTING that the Supreme Court's decision in *Roe* v. *Wade* should be coming up for its most serious reconsideration at a time when newly uncovered documents confirm the extent to which the original decision was concocted out of whole cloth. Memos from the files of former Justice William O. "I prefer to make, not follow, precedent" Douglas show the opinion's author, Justice Harry Blackmun, to have conceded the "arbitrary" nature of the elaborate trimester structure on abortion established by *Roe*. Notes passing back and forth between Blackmun and Justices Potter Stewart and Thurgood Marshall, two members of the Court who joined in the decision, demonstrate keen legislative and political sensitivities on the subject while avoiding even the pretense that the United States Constitution had anything much to do with the outcome. Justice Stewart is explicit in acknowledging the "legislative" function being performed by the Court majority.

Roe remains the nakedest, least-principled exercise of what Justice Byron White called "raw judicial power" in the history of the Republic. With a single blow, the Court overturned the longstanding, considered judgments of the legislatures of every one of the fifty states and created one of the most permissive regimes toward abortion in the history of civilized mankind. Today, in the United States, there is virtually no *legal* barrier to the obtaining of an abortion at any time during a pregnancy.

This regime is now at risk in the *Webster* case, due to be argued before the Court in April or May. *Webster* involves a Missouri statute that places a variety of constraints upon the abortion right and sets forth the notion that the "life of each human being begins at conception." The state is appealing a lower-court decision finding the statute to be inconsistent with *Roe* and its progeny on virtually all particulars.

The lines in the High Court are drawn surprisingly clearly. In one corner, four Justices are apparently inclined to overturn *Roe*—White, Rehnquist, Scalia, and Kennedy. In the other corner, four Justices are inclined to uphold *Roe*—Blackmun, Marshall, Brennan, and Stevens. In the middle, and the person to whom the serious legal briefs will be addressed, is Justice Sandra Day O'Connor.

Judging from earlier opinions, Justice O'Connor is unlikely to opt for the status quo, in which virtually no state regulation of abortion can pass constitutional muster; unfortunately, she is nearly as unlikely to break cleanly with *Roe* by voting to overturn it. Un-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

likely to be fully joined by any of her colleagues, her opinion may nevertheless effectively become the opinion of the Court.

Justice O'Connor's thoughts on the subject are not entirely clear to us. She understands the state to have "compelling interests" in ensuring maternal health and protecting potential human life "throughout pregnancy" while at the same time she views the "right to terminate a pregnancy" as deserving of constitutional recognition. Ultimately, here is a balancing test which, however desirable to some as policy, has little basis within the four corners of the Constitution. She would allow legislative regulations that are reasonably related to the states' "compelling interests," even where abortions are significantly inhibited, but would draw the line where such regulations began to "unduly burden" the abortion decision.

What this will translate into in *Webster* is anyone's guess. To their credit, the impressive briefs filed by Missouri and by the Department of Justice do not concede anything for the moment and call for outright reversal of *Roe*. At the very least, the "pro-life" community can expect that state laws on parental and spousal consent, as well as those relating to fetal experimentation, informed consent, and the like, will no longer automatically run afoul of "the Constitution."

Perhaps of equal significance, the current constitutional damper on effective debate within the states on abortion policy is likely to be lifted. That would be no inconsiderable achievement—quite apart from the lives to be saved by even small movement away from *Roe*.

Perhaps because they recognize that serious constitutional reflection by the Court poorly serves their interests, the "pro-choice" types are already at work mobilizing their troops to march on the Court. In calling upon them to join in such rallies, Kate Michelman, the executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League, has correctly observed that "the fate of millions of American women now hangs in the balance." If it were not for the Court's edict in 1973, countless numbers of female babies would be on the verge of entering womanhood today.

The Fed Can't Count

As shown by the recent strength of the dollar, weakness of the gold price, high real interest rates, and inverted yield curve, the Fed was already keeping the money supply plenty tight before the February 24 squeeze. That, at any rate, was how supply-siders saw it. Monetarists come to the same conclusion from the 5.3 per cent rise in the M2 money supply last year. Overheated Keynesians want to throw more people out of work, but initial claims for unemployment insurance had recently been quite high. So why did the Fed do it? The answer appears to be impatience at best, panic at worst, about the rise in January indices of producer and consumer prices.

The difficulty arises from the inherently tardy and seasonal nature of those indices. The 1 per cent rise in the January producer price index, for example, was largely driven by the delayed impact of last year's drought on production of meat and eggs, by the rebound of oil prices in December and January, and by some pricing decisions made when the dollar briefly declined last October and November. These are temporary disturbances (indeed, since these indices were published, the prices of many raw materials have already declined, and the dollar has fully recovered). Oil had briefly dropped from $18 to $14 a barrel and simply bounced back in January to where it had been before, which nonetheless looks like a big percentage increase in the price indices; pork prices are not going to keep rising by more than 20 per cent per month; energy prices are not going to keep rising by 5 per cent per month; and even if they did it would be a temporary relative price change that was not caused by easy money and could not be cured by tight money.

The 0.6 per cent rise in consumer prices illustrates additional temporary problems. An unusually mild winter clearly affected the seasonal adjustments. Air travel was easier in the absence of snowstorms, so the failure of airlines to temporarily reduce fares, as they usually do in January, appeared as a seasonally adjusted increase. Mild weather also avoided the usual stoppage of construction in January, thus preventing the usual temporary declines in prices of building materials. Failure of prices to decline seasonally does not really suggest that prices will increase in the future. Similarly, the 4.7 per cent increase in prices of cigarettes and pipe tobacco reflected higher excise taxes, effective in January, which are neither a product of monetary ease, nor a lasting trend.

Some infrequent changes in list prices that usually occur in different months congregated in January, thus confusing the seasonal adjustment. (This was true of the increases in auto prices, which will probably be reduced soon by rebates.) The January increases in list prices of finished goods reflect last year's costs, which are now falling. Tire prices rose, for example, though the price of rubber has since declined by

The Ayatollah as Extra Man

He's a flop at tea-time chatter,
  But if he had come to dine
With the Dormouse and Mad Hatter,
  He'd have fitted in just fine.

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

about 20 per cent. The *Economist* index of industrial commodity prices fell 5.4 per cent in the month ending February 21. Given all these obvious problems with the January price statistics, it was disturbing to financial markets that the Federal Reserve chairman found these numbers "disturbing." And even more disturbing that the Fed would hike interest rates on the basis of such dubious statistics.

Germany's Attention Wanders

CONSIDER THE FOLLOWING portentous developments in West German security policymaking:

—Chancellor Kohl has firmly rebuffed Washington's (and London's) efforts to secure a German commitment to modernizing the obsolescent Lance nuclear missile. This is significant on two levels. In strategic terms, it sets the stage for unilateral nuclear disarmament in Europe. Unless the Lance's range is extended substantially from the present seventy miles and its method of deployment made substantially more survivable, the land-based portion of the Alliance's nuclear deterrent must increasingly be viewed as incredible. Bonn's postponement of a decision to proceed with such modernization signals its indifference to that eventuality.

In political terms, Kohl's behavior is even more ominous. It amounts to gradual capitulation to the growing anti-nuclear sentiments of the German body politic and to an abdication of leadership. While some of the blame for West Germany's present anti-nuclear phobia must go to the Allies—above all, the United States—for the impetus they gave to it with the INF treaty, the lasting significance of the chancellor's current fecklessness cannot be underestimated.

—West Germany has also begun to insist upon measures that will reduce the readiness and morale of Allied forces stationed there. These include new Draconian limits on low-level aircraft flights, training exercises, night-time artillery firings, and aerial displays.

—The West Germans, urged on by Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, have been among the most irrepressible in their efforts to "help" Gorbachev. Trade, credits, technology, and know-how are cascading across the inter-German border and into other Communist hands at a staggering pace.

These developments proceed primarily from the largely unchallenged proposition that the Soviet threat has receded markedly, if not disappeared altogether. Their practical effect is to weaken the basis for the common defense and to accelerate the process of American disengagement from the Continent.

If, in fact, West Germany has decided irreversibly to pursue its own path toward disarmed neutrality, we would be better off establishing this early on. The Bush Administration's apparent decision (taken in the aftermath of Secretary of State James Baker's unsuccessful missionary work on Lance during his recent visit to Bonn) to pretend there is no problem will serve simply to postpone—and worsen—the day of reckoning.

There is still the possibility that West Germany will recover its strategic and political nerve—and U.S. diplomacy should be forcefully directed toward that end. It is, however, high time for the United States and the other major NATO Allies to begin to contemplate the implications of a new security order—one without an allied, reliable Federal Republic of Germany.

Strategic Retreat

FROM NOW ON, two unfamiliar names will be creeping into the news stories: Sibighatullah Mujaddidi and Abdul Rasaf Sayaf. After much squabbling, the rival Afghan *mujahedin* groups, in their prolonged *shura* (assembly) in Pakistan, picked the former as president and the latter as prime minister in the government of national unity they hope to install in Kabul. The resistance factions deserve congratulations for sinking their differences.

But congratulations, above all, for inducing the Soviet pullout, a major historic reverse for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Afghanistan is next door to the Soviet Union, was occupied by Soviet troops, and liberated itself through the efforts of its own resistance fighters. U.S. and other Western help, particularly in the form of Stinger missiles, was val-

WHAT WOULD YOU DO IF WE REJECTED YOUR NOMINATION ON THE GROUNDS THAT YOU'RE A BOOZING WOMANIZER?
MOVE TO MASSACHUSETTS AND RUN FOR THE U.S. SENATE...
TOWER
©1989 THE TOLEDO BLADE
Kirk, The Toledo Blade / Rothco

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"What rhymes with 'Death to Rushdie'?"

uable—in the last two years, perhaps vital. For six years before that, however, the Afghans fought bravely against overwhelming odds with only modest outside assistance. That resistance broke the Soviet will and destroyed the Soviet Union's most important strategic weapon: the myth of Communist invulnerability, the rule that what Moscow has, Moscow keeps.

But the Afghans will have turned the Soviet retreat into victory for themselves and for the West when, and only when, they have dislodged the Soviet-installed Najibullah regime from Kabul. It is good to know, therefore, that President Bush will keep supplies flowing to the resistance. As for the future, there has been among the Afghans nostalgic talk of the exiled King Zahir Shah. Wisely, the ex-king resisted Soviet blandishments to return before the time was ripe—i.e., while the Soviet army was still in occupation. Possibly only he could forge permanent unity out of the devastation of his country.

It will be a long task. But here is a country where a new Marshall Plan, financed by the United States and Western Europe, really would be justified both strategically and morally. Meanwhile, the Afghans will know that when Kabul falls, there will be rejoicing from Poland to Cambodia.

Fugitive Freedoms

"THE IMAM knows no frontiers," the president of Iran explained a bit superfluously. Khomeini's death sentence against Salman Rushdie expressed not only the fearful cruelty of his regime but also its complete disregard for Western ideas of political jurisdiction. That, in a sense, was the real shock of the Rushdie affair. We aren't surprised when Khomeini issues a death sentence (he has issued ninety thousand others); we are astounded when he presumes to apply it outside what we think of as his domain.

As for Rushdie himself, it's worth noting that he has made himself a career in England as your basic Third Worldling, damning racism and sexism and all that, celebrating socialism between lucrative book deals (he has given new meaning to the phrase "book contract"), and sympathizing with the Sandinistas. As George Szamuely noted in the *Wall Street Journal* recently, Rushdie even made excuses for the suppression of the opposition press in Nicaragua. But now he has dived for cover, hoping the repressive police forces of Mrs. Thatcher will protect him from the wrath of other Third World denizens.

Meanwhile in Manhattan, crazed hordes of First Amendment worshippers gave public readings from *The Satanic Verses*, having been promised salvation in the form of limitless publicity for their efforts. Norman Mailer's presence ensured that this would be the literary event of the afternoon. But it came a little late. For several years the literati have been passing up the chance to give public readings from *La Prensa*.

Kulturkampf

ONE NOTABLE thing about the *Kulturkampf* at Dartmouth College is the amount of media coverage it has received. The *Wall Street Journal* led the way with editorial coverage and, on December 28, a major article; *60 Minutes* sent Morley Safer to Hanover, New Hampshire, and ran a segment on it all; a *MacNeil Lehrer* report is forthcoming; and on February 26 *The New York Times Magazine* dealt with the matter in a long article by John Casey, a novelist who teaches at the University of Virginia.

Why all the attention? The feisty and often brilliant *Dartmouth Review* has forthrightly confronted core ele-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments of Dartmouth policy—the policy, in Ivy League code, of "diversity." What that policy means in practice is the recruitment and admission of students as group representatives rather than as individuals: blacks, Hispanics, Amerinds, as well as women. (Recent college memoranda raise the possibility that gays and lesbians will be recruited *as gays and lesbians* in the interest of sexual "diversity.")

"Diversity" also means recruitment of minority faculty, and the establishment of special curricula in the form of black, Amerind, Hispanic, and womens' "studies" programs. The assumption behind these programs is that ethnicity and gender are the most important characteristics of works of art and literature. It even implies that there are distinct racial categories of the human understanding—that Dante, for example, is not for blacks or Amerinds.

This despicable policy, not the opposition to it, is truly racist. The independent *Dartmouth Review*, now in its ninth year, has opposed the various manifestations of "diversity" with both reason and ridicule—thus standing up for the tattered honor of Dartmouth. It has made public the dirty little secret of both Dartmouth and liberal academe in general. That's what all the excitement is about.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ **THE EDITORS AND DIRECTORS ARE PLEASED TO ANNOUNCE THAT PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN HAS AGREED TO SERVE AS A MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF NATIONAL REVIEW**

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Some time ago an article ran in your magazine concerning your lack of subscribers; therefore it followed that there was a lack of income.

I am sure that some people have suggested that you and your fellow article contributors simplify your vocabulary so that these same people could understand what the devil you are writing about, without having to resort, many times per article, to the dictionary.

After reading an article by you I say to myself, Is he for or against it?

I admire you and like your conservative ideas and would like to understand your articles.

In addition to the simplification of your vocabulary you could add a summary after each significant paragraph and at the end of each article. With this you could explain what you really wrote about.

The 5 per cent who understand your articles as they now stand wouldn't approve of this change but I am sure that it would please us 95 per centers who like your magazine. Perhaps eventually this change would increase circulation.

Sincerely,
Donald S. Lenk
Albuquerque, N.M.

Dear Mr. Lenk: We're glad you like *NR*, but you don't tell the musicians you listen to what chords they can't play, right? We have the same inhibitions with our writers. Remember, any word they use is there because somewhere along the line there was a felt need for it. Or does that reasoning strike you as anfractuous? Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

For over a year now, it has been rumored that Texas Agriculture Commissioner Jim Hightower was going to run against Phil Gramm during the by-elections. However, the state Democratic Party advised him against it. The party used as grounds for this sage advice that he would lose because of his campaigning for Jesse Jackson.

As a matter of fact, I suspect that Jim Hightower is Jesse Jackson in whiteface.

Some of us fear Hightower will lead Texas into an agricultural revolution. Something like leading us back to forty acres and a mule.

That's the bad news. Had he run against Gramm, we could have sent the ersatz hick to the showers.

Regarding another matter—Central American refugees. We are flooded with them. Harlingen and Brownsville, Texas, are getting put on the map. What a way to gain international recognition!

If memory serves me correctly, President Reagan and others warned us that something like this would happen if we left the Contras twisting in the wind.

Dave Larson
Harlingen, Tex.

Dear Mr. Larson: Maybe Texas could contribute Jim Hightower to Gorbachev, to help with their 71st annual drought since 1917? Cordially, WFB

☐ Dear Mr. Buckley:

Congratulations on your successful effort to retire Lowell Weicker from the U.S. Senate. You and the *NR* staff deserve a medal of honor for service, not only to Connecticut, but to the rest of our wonderful country.

Would you consider a similar endeavor to help us (Texas) remove our embarrassment (Jim Wright) from the lower house?

Yours truly,
John A. Gay
Borger, Tex.

Dear Mr. Gay: BuckPac sleeps, but who knows—it may rise again in the second year. Cordially, **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ISLAMIC WASTELAND

THE HORRIFIC death threat to Salman Rushdie will have served at least one useful purpose even if, as must be fervently hoped, it is never fulfilled: it has illustrated, better than any infidel commentary could, the barbarous character of Ayatollah Khomeini's regime. His anathema on *The Satanic Verses* [see the review by Aram Bakshian Jr., p. 44], a work of fiction by the Indian-born (formerly Muslim) British writer, may be having a stimulating effect on the book's sales. But, unlike *Spycatcher* author Peter Wright, Rushdie has to pay a high price for his best-sellerdom. Living under police guard in the shadow of the death threat, Rushdie has had to avail himself of the protection of the government of Mrs. Thatcher (who appears in his book as "Mrs. Torture").

The Ayatollah is still there at 88, his death often expected and even reported, presiding over the fundamentalist wasteland of his own creation. Iran's Islamic republic is ten years old, eight of them absorbed by a devastating war in which (to be fair) the aggressor was Saddam Hussein in the neighboring Arab republic of Iraq.

How seldom do revolutions (as distinct from coups) justify themselves! There was a case for overthrowing the Shah, a well-intentioned man systematically flattered and misled not only by sycophantic courtiers but even by Western ambassadors. Wanting desperately to modernize his ramshackle realm, he went all-out for industrialization, thus wrecking Iran's agriculture. The brutalities of his *Savak* secret police were notorious, and corruption was rife.

Today, however, Iran and its people are considerably worse off than under His Imperial Majesty. The executions and brutalities of the Ayatollah's secret police, the *Sawama*, far exceed those of *Savak*. The poor are still poor, and only 3 per cent of cultivated land has been allocated to the peasants, who had been led to believe that their concerns were uppermost in the hearts of the Islamic revolutionaries.

By definition, any fundamentalist regime is worse than a personal despotism (Stalin's dictatorship was both, as was Hitler's). The Shia variety of Islam, which prevails in Iran, sees the state, the law, and society as one under Allah and his Prophet. In Iran's case, the imam is Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, and no important decision can be taken without his approval. Armed with the personal approval of Allah, the Ayatollah could, apparently without pangs of conscience, send 12-year-old warriors to their certain death in the Gulf War. Death, seen as martyrdom, guaranteed access to the Koranic paradise.

It is precisely this assumption of divine blessing that is so chilling in the Rushdie case. There was a time, in the gory history of Christianity, when a similar assumption was held to justify, say, the tortures of the Spanish Inquisition and (in a milder vein) the recantation by Galileo of his merely scientific claim that the earth was round and that it moved.

Reread Leviticus 24:14 for divine approval of the stoning and putting to death of blasphemers. Ponder the teachings of Luther and Calvin, and even of Thomas Aquinas, for similar hubristic certainty. We don't do such things any more. Shiite fundamentalists do. But then, Mohammed preached and died in the seventh century. By this token, Iran's fundamentalists are still stuck in the thirteenth, in a stalled time machine that has not registered the Enlightenment and never heard of John Stuart Mill.

There is no easy way back to sanity in this vast and ancient country. As with all fundamentalists, there are true believers and cynical time-servers. On the whole, the time-servers are potentially more useful than those who swallow the doctrine whole. The Ayatollah's chosen successor, Montazeri, must be presumed a true believer; Rafsanjani must be credited with a measure of cynical pragmatism. As speaker in the Majlis and titular commander-in-chief, he is hardly a negligible factor.

THE TROUBLE with the Rushdie case, in terms of international relations, is that the West's united condemnation of the Ayatollah has, at least temporarily, closed ranks behind him in Iran. For now, the wavering mullahs (including President Khamenei, who appeared to favor a "pardon" for Rushdie) have been silenced.

But even the Ayatollah is not immortal. The struggle for the succession still seems likely to involve a clash between the revolutionary guards (*Passdaran*) and an army that did better than widely expected against the well-equipped Iraqis. The fundamentalists will not necessarily come out on top. But don't bank on it. Meanwhile, the Ayatollah's version of Islam still rules, still terrorizes, still funds the taking of hostages. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BMG COMPACT DISC CLUB

The ultimate in sound. The

U2: Rattle & Hum • New live set includes the hit Desire, Still Haven't Found What I'm Looking For, more. Island 200596

Anita Baker: Rapture • Sweet Love, Caught Up In The Rapture, You Bring Me Joy, Been So Long, Mystery, more. Elektra 173404

Itzhak Perlman: French Violin Showpieces • Carmen Fantasy, Tzigane, Poème, Havanaise, more. DG *DIGITAL* 115457

Tracy Chapman • Extraordinary singer/songwriter with hit Fast Car, Talkin' Bout A Revolution, Baby Can I Hold You, Mountains O' Things, Why?, etc. Elektra 153582

Great Love Songs Of The '50s & '60s, Vol. 1 • The Platters, Only You, plus The Drifters, Gene Pitney, more. Laurie 120768

Jerry Lee Lewis: Original Sun Greatest Hits • Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin On, Great Balls Of Fire, more. Rhino 154118

Kitaro: The Light Of The Spirit • Sundance, Mysterious Encounter, The Field, In The Beginning, etc. Geffen *DIGITAL* 164228

Richard Marx • Endless Summer Nights, Should've Known Better, Don't Mean Nothing, etc. EMI-Manhattan 134073

Jimmy Page: Outrider • Wasting My Time, The Only One, Prison Blues, more. Geffen 123721

Robert Plant: Now And Zen • Dance On My Own, Heaven Knows, Tall Cool One, Ship Of Fools, etc. Es Paranza 134392

Led Zeppelin: Houses Of The Holy D'yer Maker, Over The Hills And Far Away, etc. Atlantic 134321

George Harrison: Cloud Nine • Title song, I Got My Mind Set On You, When We Was Fab, more. Warner/Dark Horse 174328

Phil Collins: Buster **100517**

James Taylor's Greatest Hits Warner Bros. 123790

Dire Straits: Brothers In Arms • Money For Nothing, Walk Of Life, So Far Away, more. Warner Bros. *DIGITAL* 114734

Pops in Space • John Williams & The Boston Pops. Music from Close Encounters, Star Wars, others. Philips *DIGITAL* 105392

Rod Stewart: Greatest Hits • Do Ya Think I'm Sexy?, Tonight's The Night, Maggie May, Hot Legs, etc. Warner Bros. 133779

Andrés Segovia Plays Bach • Includes the famous Chaconne. MCA 163600

Poison: Open Up And Say...Ahh • Nothin' But A Good Time, Good Love, Fallen Angel, Love On The Rocks, etc. Capitol/Enigma 173989

Bobby McFerrin: Simple Pleasures Don't Worry Be Happy, All I Want, Drive My Car, title song, Good Lovin', more. EMI-Manhattan 164165

Cream: Disraeli Gears • Sunshine Of Your Love, more. Polydor 104898

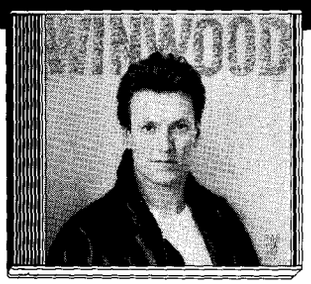
Simon & Garfunkel: The Concert In Central Park • Mrs. Robinson, Bridge Over Troubled Water, etc. Warner Bros. 244006

Alabama: Live RCA 160027

Previn: Gershwin • Rhapsody In Blue, Concerto in F, more. Philips *DIGITAL* 115437

Eagles Greatest Hits, Vol. 1 Asylum 123481

Cocktail (Original Soundtrack) • The Fabulous Thunderbirds: Powerful Stuff; Beach Boys: Kokomo; Starship: Wild Again; more. Elektra 100459



Steve Winwood: Roll With It **154633**

Liz Story: Speechless • Forgiveness, Speechless, Welcome Home, Back Porch, Vigil, Frog Park, more. RCA/Novus 100494

Decade/Best Of Steely Dan MCA 154135

Beethoven, Symphony No. 7; Coriolan & Prometheus Overtures • Royal Philharmonic/Previn. RCA *DIGITAL* 153621

Jethro Tull: Aqualung Chrysalis 124705

Whitney Houston: Whitney • I Wanna Dance With Somebody (Who Loves Me), Didn't We Almost Have It All, more. Arista 152854

Kenny Rogers' Greatest Hits • Lady, Long Arm Of The Law, The Gambler, Lucille, She Believes In Me, etc. Liberty 150019

Talking Heads: Naked • (Nothing But) Flowers, Mr. Jones, Totally Nude, Blind, The Democratic Circus, The Facts Of Life, etc. Fly/Sire *DIGITAL* 153810

David Sanborn: Close-Up • Lush jazz sax effort! Slam, You Are Everything, J.T., Goodbye, Same Girl, etc. Warner Bros. 134408

Dwight Yoakam: Buenas Noches From A Lonely Room • Title Song, Streets Of Bakersfield (with Buck Owens), more. Reprise 100009

The Best Of The Band Capitol 134485

Classic Old & Gold, Vol. 1 • 20 hits! A Little Bit Of Soul, He's So Fine, A Teenager In Love, Sweet Talkin' Guy, etc. Laurie 134627

INXS: Kick • Need You Tonight, Devil Inside, New Sensation, title song, Never Tear Us Apart, The Loved One, Wild Life, etc. Atlantic *DIGITAL* 153606

The Glenn Miller Orchestra: In The Digital Mood • In The Mood, Chattanooga Choo Choo, more. GRP *DIGITAL* 143293

Tangerine Dream: Phaedra 100510

Steve Winwood: Chronicles • Higher Love, Valerie, While You See A Chance, My Love's Leavin', Talking Back To The Night, more. Island 134501

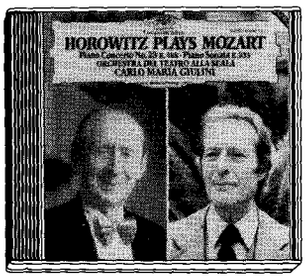
Pictures At An Exhibition, Night On The Bare Mountain, more • Montreal Symphony/Dutoit. London *DIGITAL* 125314

Whitesnake • Here I Go Again, Still Of The Night, Give Me All Your Love, Crying In The Rain, Bad Boys, more. Geffen 163629

ZZ Top: Afterburner Warner Bros. 164042

Carly Simon: Greatest Hits Live Anticipation, You're So Vain, Coming Around Again, Nobody Does It Better, etc. Arista 154537

Huey Lewis: Small World • Perfect World, Walking With The Kid, World To Me, Better Be True, Old Antone's, etc. Chrysalis 134347



Horowitz Plays Mozart **115436**

Najee: Day By Day • Personality, title song, That's The Way Of The World, Tonight I'm Yours, Gina, Najee's Nasty Groove, etc. EMI-Manhattan 100001

Genesis: Invisible Touch • Land Of Confusion, title song, etc. Atlantic 153740

More Dirty Dancing • Do You Love Me, Love Man, Big Girls Don't Cry, Wipeout, Some Kind Of Wonderful, Cry To Me, more. RCA 130766

The Who's Greatest Hits MCA 164160

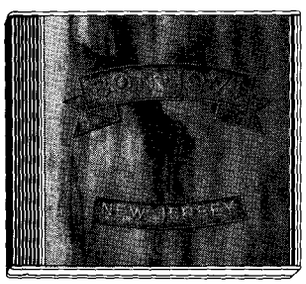
Tchaikovsky, 1812 Overture; Romeo & Juliet; Nutcracker Suite • Chicago Symphony/Solti. London *DIGITAL* 125179

James Galway: Greatest Hits RCA 173233

The Moody Blues: Sur La Mer • I Know You're Out There Somewhere, No More Lies, Here Comes The Weekend, Vintage Wine, etc. Polydor 124546

The Beach Boys: Endless Summer California Girls, Help Me Rhonda, Surfer Girl, more. Capitol 223559

Cinderella: Long Cold Winter • Gypsy Road, Don't Know What You Got (Till It's Gone), The Last Mile, etc. Mercury 114780



Bon Jovi: New Jersey **100516**

Strauss, Also sprach Zarathustra Chicago Symphony Orchestra/Reiner. RCA 163627

Charlie Parker & Dizzy Gillespie: Bird & Diz • Leap Frog, My Melancholy Baby, Mohawk, etc. Verve 173413

Robert Palmer: Heavy Nova • Simply Irresistible, Disturbing Behavior, She Makes My Day, More Than Ever, Change His Ways, etc. EMI-Manhattan 100035

The Very Best Of The Everly Brothers Bye Bye Love, Crying In The Rain, Bird Dog, others, Warner Bros. 103826

Kenny G: Silhouette • We've Saved The Best For Last, title song, Tradewinds, Pastel, Against Doctor's Orders, Let Go, more. Arista 100603

D.J. Jazzy Jeff & The Fresh Prince: He's The D.J., I'm The Rapper • Parents Just Don't Understand, Nightmare On My Street, etc. Jive 264134

Raffi: Singable Songs For The Very Young Shoreline 144494

Elton John: Reg Strikes Back • A Word In Spanish, I Don't Wanna Go On With You Like That, Goodbye Marlon Brando, Town Of Plenty, etc. MCA *DIGITAL* 100602

Elton John: Greatest Hits, Vol. 1 MCA 163322

Vivaldi, The Four Seasons • English Concert/Pinnock. Archiv *DIGITAL* 115356

Joe Cocker: Classics Contains 13 Hits! A&M 104887

Bruce Hornsby And The Range: Scenes From The Southside • The Valley Road and Jacob's Ladder, plus others. RCA 180187

Crosby, Stills, Nash & Young: Greatest Hits (So Far) • Suite: Judy Blue Eyes, etc. Atlantic 130230

New Age Bach: The Goldberg Variations Joel Spiegelman plays the Kurzweil 250 Digital Keyboard. East-West 100488

John Cougar Mellencamp: The Lonesome Jubilee • Paper In Fire, Check It Out, Cherry Bomb, Rooty Toot Toot, etc. Mercury 134420

Elvis: 18 Number One Hits RCA 172190

Robert Cray: Don't Be Afraid Of The Dark Title song, Don't You Even Care, more. Mercury/Hightone 100471

Jimi Hendrix: Kiss The Sky • Purple Haze, All Along The Watchtower, Voodoo Child, Are You Experienced, etc. Reprise 161349

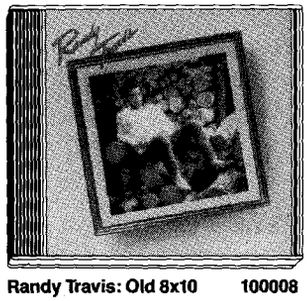
Parton/Ronstadt/Harris: Trio • To Know Him Is To Love Him, etc. Warner Bros. 114804

Chicago 19 • I Don't Wanna Live Without Your Love, Heart In Pieces, etc. Reprise 154404

Peter Cetera: One More Story • One Good Woman, more. Warner Bros. 100463

Buckwheat Zydeco: Taking It Home Why Does Love Got To Be So Sad? (with Eric Clapton), Creole Country, more. Island 100597

The Sound Of Music/Orig. Soundtrack RCA 100046



Randy Travis: Old 8x10 **100008**

The Police: Every Breath You Take–The Singles • Don't Stand So Close To Me ('86), Roxanne, etc. A&M 173924

Sting: Nothing Like The Sun • We'll Be Together, They Dance Alone, Be Still My Beating Heart, more. A&M 273965

Mozart, Overtures • Academy of St. Martin/Marriner. Marriage Of Figaro, 8 more. Angel *DIGITAL* 134267

START NOW WITH 4 COMPACT DISCS!

Yes, pick any 4 compact discs shown here! You need buy just one selection at regular Club prices (usually $14.98–$15.98) . . . and take up to one full year to do it. Then you can choose another CD free as a bonus. That's 6 compact discs for the price of 1 and there's nothing more to buy . . . ever! (Shipping & handling added to each shipment.)

HOW THE CLUB OPERATES

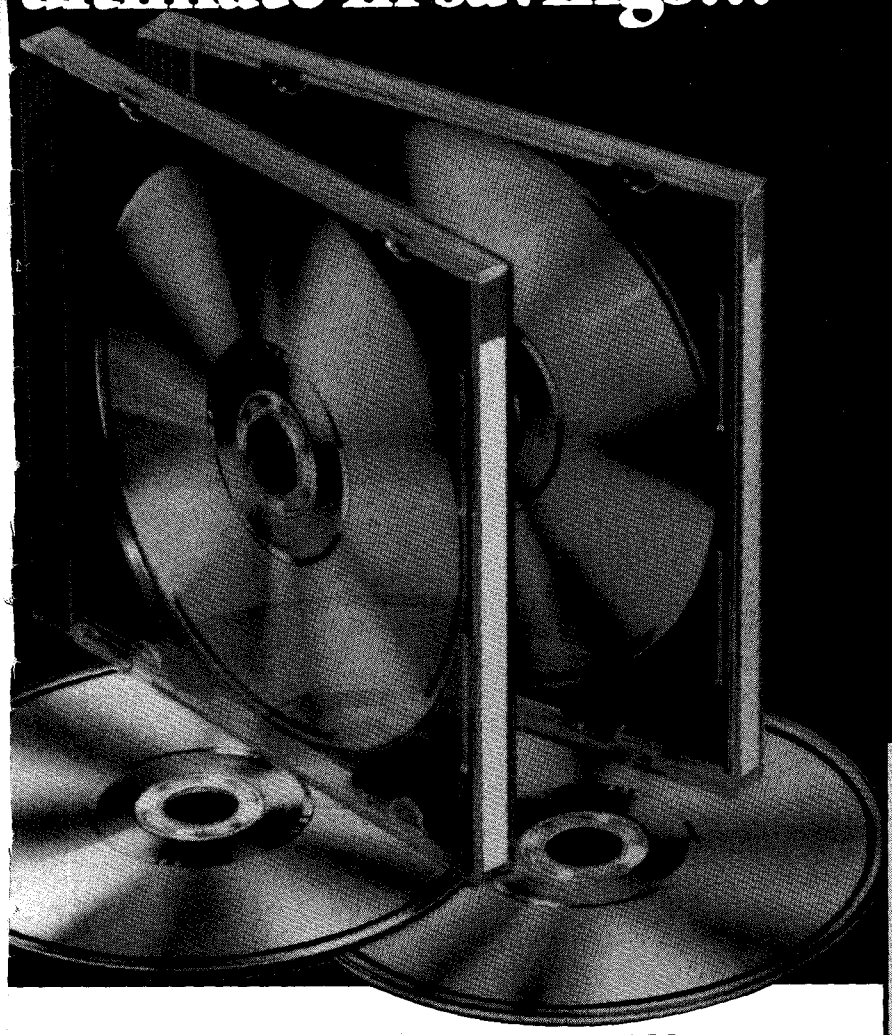
You select from hundreds of exciting compact discs described in the Club's magazine and mailed to you approximately every 3 weeks (19 times a year). Each issue highlights a Featured Selection in your preferred music category, plus alternate selections. If you'd like the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will be sent to you automatically. If you'd prefer an alternate selection, or none at all, just return the

CD689 BMG Compact Disc Club, 6550 E. 30th St., Indianapolis, IN 46219-1194

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ultimate in savings... GET 6 COMPACT DISCS FOR THE PRICE OF 1

WITH NOTHING MORE TO BUY...EVER!



Start with **4** COMPACT DISCS now! pay just shipping & handling with Club membership.

Buy just **1** smash hit in one year's time.

Then get **1** bonus CD of your choice.

Enjoy **6** CDs for the price of one.

Nothing more to buy...EVER!

Steve Miller: Born 2 B Blue • Ya Ya, Born To Be Blue, Just A Little Bit, Gold Bless The Child, Filthy McNasty, etc. Capitol 100591

Anthrax: State Of Euphoria • Be All, End All; Make Me Laugh; Out Of Sight, Out Of Mind; Schism; more. Island/Megaforce 100589

Johnny Cash: Classic Cash • Folsom Prison Blues, Ring Of Fire, I Walk The Line, Get Rhythm, Cry, Cry, Cry, more. Mercury 100595

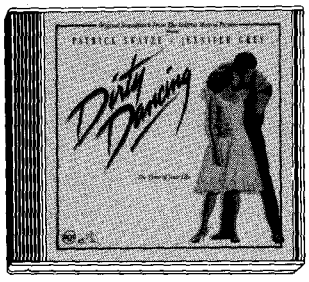
Procol Harum: Classics • 12 great hits! A&M 134445

Special EFX: Double Feature • The Lady And The Sea, Passages, Golden Days, Mirrors, more. GRP *DIGITAL* 100016

Jazz CD Sampler • Over 67 minutes of jazz, with 15 classic performances by Ella, Armstrong, Basie, Getz, etc. PolyGram 173406

The Judds: Greatest Hits RCA 144578

Allman Brothers Band: Eat A Peach Melissa, Blue Sky, Ain't Wastin' Time No More, etc. Polydor 163353



Dirty Dancing/Soundtrack 182522

Scott Joplin, Piano Rags • Joshua Rifkin plays The Entertainer, Maple Leaf Rag, Gladiolus Rag, 14 more. Nonesuch 164055

Eric Clapton: Time Pieces (The Best Of) Layla, I Shot The Sheriff, After Midnight, Cocaine, etc. Polydor 123385

card enclosed with each issue of your magazine by the date specified on the card. You will have at least 10 days to decide, or you may return your Featured Selection at our expense. Cancel your membership at any time after completing your membership agreement, simply by writing to us.

FREE 10-DAY TRIAL

Listen to your 4 introductory selections for a full 10 days. If not satisfied, return them with no further obligation. You send no money now, so complete the coupon and mail it today.

SAVE 50% INSTANT HALF-PRICE BONUS PLAN

Unlike other clubs, you get 50%-off Bonus Savings with every CD you buy at regular Club prices, effective with your first full-price purchase!

BMG COMPACT DISC CLUB

YOUR SAVINGS START HERE

Mail to: BMG Compact Disc Club
P.O. Box 91412 • Indianapolis, IN 46219

YES, please accept my membership in the BMG Compact Disc Club and send me the four Compact Discs I've indicated here, billing me for just shipping and handling under the terms of this ad. I need buy just 1 CD at regular Club prices during the next year—after which I can choose a FREE bonus CD! That's 6 for the price of 1...with nothing more to buy ever! (Shipping & handling is added to each shipment.)

RUSH ME THESE 4 CDs *(Indicate by number):*

D	D	D	D

I am most interested in the musical category checked here—but I am always free to choose from any (check one only):

A☐ **EASY LISTENING** (Instrumental/Vocal Moods) B☐ **COUNTRY**
C☐ **HARD ROCK** D☐ **POP/SOFT ROCK** E☐ **CLASSICAL**

☐ MR.
☐ MRS.
☐ MISS First Name Initial Last Name (PLEASE PRINT)

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Telephone ( ) _____
Area Code

Signature_____

Limited to new members, continental USA only. Current CD Club members not eligible for this offer. One membership per family. We reserve the right to request additional information or reject any applications. Local taxes, if any, will be added.

YCT37 (BU)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SO LITTLE CHANGE, SO MUCH DIFFERENCE

THE ANNOUNCEMENTS continue unabated that our society is becoming ever more secular, while evidence accumulates to the contrary. The pertinent data and arguments were recently brought together in *Unsecular America* (Eerdmans), edited by this writer. Now priest-sociologist Andrew Greeley joins the discussion with a helpful little book, *Religious Indicators 1940-1985* (Harvard). Looking at the survey research on religion over almost half a century, Greeley concludes that the continuities are ever so much more striking than the discontinuities.

In 1940 about two-fifths of the American people were quite religious, praying daily, going to church every week, participating in religious organizations. Another two-fifths were somewhat religious. They prayed and went to church, but not so regularly; they accepted the doctrinal teachings of their churches but were not active in church organizations. And then there was the one-fifth that rarely prayed or went to church and, while most of them did believe in God, were not sure about the divinity of Jesus or about life after death. What was true in 1940 was true in 1985 and, one may safely assume, is true in 1989.

Indicators of the religious situation do have their ups and downs, of course. For Christianity in America there have been two significant downs in the last half-century. One is the continuing decline of the mainline/oldline/sideline churches, such as the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian. The end of that decline is not in sight, if there is an end before virtual oblivion. The other down occurred among Roman Catholics and was temporary. In the wake of changes precipitated by the Second Vatican Council and subsequent controversies over church authority, Catholic participation decreased for a time but then leveled off around 1975. Aside from those downs, and aside from the new attention paid the vibrant evangelical and fundamentalist worlds of American Protestantism, the religious story since 1940 is one of remarkable stability. At least that is the conclusion to be drawn from studying the numbers that are the truth according to survey research.

But a reader might be forgiven for asking, If so little has changed, why is everything so different? One reason things may seem different is that everyone reading this is ten or twenty or forty years older than he was when things were not different. The influence of the life cycle on religious sensibilities is well documented. If things seem different, it is not because people are less religious than they were. The surveys suggest that a large number of the people you see walking down the street on a given morning are saying their prayers, pondering last Sunday's sermon, or communicating with angels. (Just as happily married couples think their kind to be rare, people who pray on their way to work find it hard to believe that anybody else is doing the same.) Institutionally, the business of religion is flourishing. Yet the uneasiness persists that something is fundamentally different, that maybe religion is in a different business nowadays.

Greeley writes that the return of Catholic stability was a matter of "American Catholics going through their own quiet revolution of deciding to remain Catholic on their own terms." But is it not a contradiction in terms to be a Catholic—or, for that matter, a Christian—on our own terms? The Pope has had some sharp words for people who thought they could be Catholics in good standing on the basis of selective belief and obedience. At the risk of simplicity, one might observe that one becomes a Christian by surrendering to God's terms. It used to be called conversion. Religiosity, however, can flourish mightily—perhaps can flourish best—in sublime indifference to Christianity. As a Methodist bishop famously declared, "I believe the Methodist Church will continue long after Christianity has passed from the face of the earth."

Survey-research evidence of religion's flourishing is not necessarily good news. If the religion that flourishes is religion on our own terms, it may turn out that secularization has triumphed after all—in the name of religion. Such religion is devoted to need-meeting rather than truth-telling, is given to dialogue rather than proclamation, and is embarrassed to suggest that there are terms other than our own that call us to a change that may be something like repentance. Secularization under religious auspices is the practical atheism that spares us the trouble of repudiating the faith. It is as the dean of an Ivy League chapel put it in her Christmas newsletter, " 'The Word became flesh' means that we can affirm our own experience." We must be all right. Why else would God want to become one of us? The suggestion is that the Incarnation was a bit of a move up for the Second Person of the Trinity.

SO IT MAY BE that the sociological sameness disguises a profound theological difference. The indicators of social science say little or nothing about the authenticity of the religiousness they indicate. At the same time, the difference between religion on our terms and religion on God's terms is nothing new. I expect that was what the Apostle had in mind when he wrote to the Christians in Rome, "Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your mind." In 40, in 1940, and in 1989, the question is not whether religion, but which religion. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ALL OUT OF PANACEAS

Advocates of drug legalization often cite the British approach. But the British no longer supply drugs to addicts on request. The UK problem is different from ours—and getting worse. The experience in America and Britain carries the same message:

NO QUICK DRUG FIX

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

"AMERICANS WILL BE coming over here to study the advantages of monarchy twenty years after we've become a republic," grumbled a distinguished London doctor who had been asked to explain "the British system" of treating drug addicts. Just as some Americans conventionally believe, without much real knowledge, that British television is better, overall, than American television, so the belief lingers that Britain has a better way of dealing with the drug problem.

There was a difference once. At the turn of the century the opium trade had become a major scandal, and the American Government was afraid that it might spill over into the Philippines. International treaties at the end of the First World War banned the trade. America, where the mood that led to Prohibition was already flowing, wanted all the signatories to forbid the domestic use of narcotics no less strongly—a ban that would include doctors.

It was, indeed, rigorously enforced in the United States. A number of doctors were jailed. But when in Britain doctors began to be prosecuted under the Dangerous Drugs Act, the leaders of the medical profession rose up in arms. They protested against any interference with their traditional right to prescribe whatever they thought best for their patients. A report, commissioned by the government, upheld the doctors' view, and the right to prescribe was restored.

Controlled doses of morphine or cocaine could, therefore, be legally supplied to an addict. But there were very few addicts in Britain between the wars. Noel Coward wrote a famous play on the subject; some jazz drummers took drugs to alter their sense of time; and mystery stories often featured "dope fiends." Drug peddling was a familiar crime but hardly a serious problem.

In America, on the other hand, the problem was already real and increasing, for a variety of historical and cultural reasons. And the fact that doctors were not allowed, in any circumstances, to prescribe drugs for addicts probably did conduce to the growth of a black market. After the Second World War the problem deepened, and some Americans attributed the fact that it was worse in the United States than in Britain largely to this difference in the law; which was a gross oversimplification.

In the 1950s, when I first wrote articles on the subject, I came to the conclusion (which is, by definition, unprovable) that the officially admitted number of addicts in Britain was, by that time, heavily underestimated. And some of the disadvantages of "the British system" were plainly visible. Outside Boot's, the all-night pharmacy in Piccadilly Circus, registered addicts could be seen standing in line just before midnight, waiting for their next prescription to become due. Once, though admittedly only once, I saw a young man injecting himself on the platform of the subway station. And there were some notorious London doctors who dished out narcotic prescriptions freely—or, rather, at a price—to everybody who wanted them.

BECAUSE OF SUCH ABUSES and in the old hope that dangerous drugs could be made to vanish altogether, another attempt was made, in the mid 1950s, to prevent heroin from being prescribed by doctors even as a painkiller in terminal cases; but again the attempt was repelled in the name of medical freedom. This aspect of the matter does still constitute a difference between Britain and America. It provided the do-gooding moral for an episode of *Cagney and Lacey*, a moral that was probably justified —to the extent that the doctor's freedom to prescribe is important and not much heroin leaks into the British black market from genuine medical sources—but may also be misleading because, according to most doctors, alternative painkillers are now available that should render the use of heroin unnecessary.

Around 1965 the first methadone clinics were established in the United States, and they were soon copied in Britain. Methadone, which, though addictive, is comparatively harmless, offered a generally acceptable way of treating addicts without giving them heroin. In the whole of Britain, at that stage, there were supposed to be about three thousand addicts; in New York City alone there were ten thousand. So the scale of the problem was very different; but, from then on, attitudes and the treatment available on either side of the Atlantic tended to converge.

"The situation," says Dr. Griffith Edwards, Britain's leading specialist in addictions and a former White House advisor, "is messy and unsatisfactory, but there's really nothing now for the Americans to copy." Under the Misuse of

Mr. Lejeune is NR's longtime London correspondent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drugs Act, 1969, British doctors treating a known addict are, at least theoretically, obliged to register his name—just as they would report a communicable disease. This is primarily for statistical purposes; it doesn't affect the treatment they can give. But to prescribe heroin or cocaine regularly, doctors need special licenses, and with methadone available, almost the only ones who obtain such licenses are those working in drug centers. The shady practitioners who used to sell heroin prescriptions have virtually disappeared, represented now only by a few on the unmistakably criminal fringes of the profession.

Methadone, however, is far from solving even the medical problem entirely. It's useless, for example, in the treatment of cocaine addicts, and cocaine is now the more prevalent threat. Some doctors, skeptical about the safety or usefulness of methadone, point out that cocaine was once considered a safe drug with which to wean people from morphine addiction. There is a school of thought, admirably represented by the Hazeldon Clinic in Minnesota, that believes the best, indeed the only, way for an addict to be "cured" (though drug addicts, like alcoholics, are never cured beyond the possibility of relapse) is for him simply to stop taking the drug. Supporters of this line of reasoning believe the fear of "cold turkey" is an illusion.

Other clinics, although they use methadone and various anti-depressant drugs, believe in tapering them off quite rapidly, within weeks. In a strongly contested British case, Dr. Ann Dally was arraigned before the disciplinary committee of the General Medical Council for irresponsibly prescribing methadone in quantities that tended to feed the black market, instead of progressively reducing the addict's dosage. Dr. Dally's reply was that, on the contrary, she kept her patients away from the black market and from crime by stabilizing their lifestyle. She took on many patients—189 addicts in eight months—because the demand was so great; there weren't enough clinics offering maintenance (as distinct from detoxification) treatment. Professor Arnold Trebach, director of the Institute on Drugs, Crime, and Justice at the American University in Washington, testified on Dr. Dally's behalf that Britain's new style of treating addicts, which involved short, sharp detoxification, was heading for failure; it didn't work. Some British specialists agreed. Dr. John Marks, director of the Merseyside regional drug-dependency unit, said that when long-term addicts tried detoxification at his clinic, the failure rate was 90 per cent. Dr. Dally was convicted, nevertheless, and banned from supplying or possessing controlled drugs for 14 months.

Whatever the rights and wrongs of her case (and the drug quantities were suspiciously large), there is a genuine conflict of opinion. The maintenance treatment, achieved at a clinic or by giving refillable prescriptions, is more common now in the United States than in Britain. Indeed, a wider variety of treatments is available in America, where clinics are more apt to treat the whole range of an addict's problems, educational and social as well as purely medical. The feeling in Britain is that too many addicts on a methadone regime simply add illegal drugs to their methadone ration or sell the methadone and buy heroin. Some doctors, nevertheless, will supply injectable methadone, which is more popular with addicts because it acts faster.

However, the pattern has been changing lately because AIDS, contracted and spread through the sharing of needles, constitutes an even more urgent and deadly threat than addiction. Doctors lure addicts into accepting treatment by offering them drugs on prescription—usually methadone but sometimes heroin—more readily and for longer periods. "A few years ago," says Dr. John Strang, director of the Maudsley Hospital's drug-dependency unit, "I and other specialists would have prescribed very tight withdrawal programs of six to eight weeks. Now many of us are more willing to bend and sway with the drug user to first get him off injecting and then, hopefully, cure his habit. The emphasis on complete abstinence as a short-term goal is being increasingly questioned, although there is a real danger, against which we must be constantly vigilant, of institutionalizing the misuser's habit."

Some patients receive drugs on prescription for a year or more. Attempts are made to break the injecting habit by offering them a continuing supply on condition that, from a fixed date, the drugs will be taken orally. In the fight against AIDS, inveterate addicts are less important than young heterosexuals who have begun to take drugs intravenously. Clinics that, as one expert remarked, wouldn't previously have given such casual abusers "the time of day" now regard their capture as vital.

When stories about the crack epidemic in New York began to be reported by the British press, it was accused of alarmism. There was no crack in Britain. Now there is.

In this, as in other fields of medicine, patients are individuals with different needs; no system should be inflexible. But, of course, the drug problem is not altogether like other fields of medicine. For one thing, many of the patients don't want to be cured: and the connection with organized crime means that the ailment is deliberately spread. The problem has grown alarmingly in Britain over the past decade, but its true dimensions are hard to determine. The statistics continue to be unreliable, and because they are not collated in quite the same way as the American figures, transatlantic comparison is difficult.

Prosecutions for possessing heroin increased by nearly 1,000 per cent between 1978 and 1985; seizures of cocaine at British ports were up from 14 kilograms in 1977 to three hundred kilograms in 1983; but the number of notified heroin addicts actually fell slightly last year. What this suggests, as the Health Ministry puts it, is that instead of "one major enemy" there are now several adversaries, headed by cocaine and amphetamines. Total drug seizures by Customs agents were up 60 per cent last year—heroin up 30 per cent, LSD (which has lately become fashionable again with some youngsters) up tenfold, cannabis up 150 per cent, and cocaine nominally down. But the cocaine figures were distorted by a single huge seizure in the previous year: if that seizure is discounted, there was a real increase of 80 per cent, putting cocaine for the first time ahead of heroin.

Crack and amphetamines hardly show. The reason is

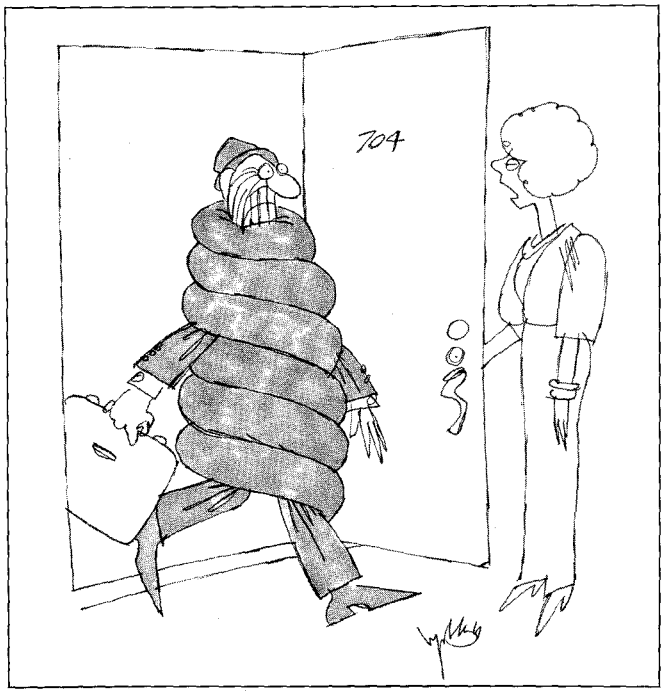
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not their absence from the British drug scene but that they are manufactured domestically. Two years ago, when stories about the crack epidemic in New York began to be reported by the British press and television, the media were accused of alarmism. There was no crack in Britain. Now there is. Just the other day, the police, having battered down a steel door in a south-London house, found a small crack factory. Several rundown areas of London are haunted by crack salesmen almost as blatant as their equivalents in New York.

Britain has become a source country for amphetamines, which Detective Chief Inspector Richard Burcham of the National Drugs Intelligence Unit described as "the poor man's, the young man's cocaine." Last year 11 illicit laboratories were discovered. Amphetamines sell at around one-seventh the price of cocaine, and teenagers may be turning to them instead of glue sniffing. The drug-treatment system does not deal with them, and there are virtually no statistics of usage.

The street value of cocaine is three times as high in London as in New York, which renders the British market particularly attractive to the international drug trade. The police and the Customs agents believe that Britain is now a prime target. Cocaine usage has been percolating down the social scale, although the media inevitably highlight the prosecution of celebrities—or their children.

There was a tragic affair at Oxford University, where Olivia Channon, the daughter of a minister in Mrs. Thatcher's government, died of an overdose and two of her friends were convicted of helping to supply the drugs. When I was an undergraduate journalist at Oxford thirty years ago, I wrote an article about drugs in the university; by which I meant benzedrine and sleeping tablets. In the 1970s marijuana was not uncommon, although never as ubiquitous as in America. Now there is heroin and cocaine as well: but how prevalent? The undergraduates to whom I've spoken all say that drug-taking—apart from the odd puff of marijuana—is confined to small, discreet groups.



"You'd better unwind before dinner."

On the other hand, Bristol University's student magazine published a survey, purporting to show that 50 per cent of students took drugs and 34 per cent hard drugs. But those alarming figures, if true, presumably refer to experimental rather than regular use.

Edinburgh has probably the highest concentration of drug users in Britain. Most of them now carry the AIDS virus. As an experiment, free needles have been offered on the National Health Service: but there have been few takers, for fear of being subjected to compulsory treatment. The government has mounted several nationwide television and poster campaigns aimed at the young. With the slogan "Heroin really screws you up" and against a dank and gloomy urban setting, the first showed a miserable youth increasingly debilitated and cut off from his wiser friends. Although the government claimed good results, with a higher proportion of youngsters saying in opinion polls that they would reject an offer of heroin, the campaign was controversial. Its critics argued that the weird settings bore no relation to young people's actual experience and that the emaciated central characters had an attraction of their own for some girls. The emphasis has now shifted to cocaine and, more generally, to the danger of needle-sharing.

THERE ARE new players on the other side of the game. London has its own counterparts, called "Yardies," of the "Posses" in America: Jamaican-born gangsters who handle the retail end of cocaine distribution. The Yardies, to whom at least six murders have been attributed, often buy from Posse contacts. Meanwhile, the Chinese Triads, moving out into the world ahead of the impending takeover of Hong Kong by Communist China, and the traditional Mafia, still very much alive and bloodily kicking, have begun maneuvering for control of the drug routes from the Far and Middle East.

The British police and Customs have a few officers stationed abroad, and the American enforcement agencies are always represented in London. They are all grimly aware that Britain's drug problem has increased and is increasing; that as the American market approaches saturation, international suppliers are looking across the Atlantic; and that crack presents a terrible new threat.

All the old arguments are rehearsed. Would it be helpful or disastrous to legalize the sale of cannabis? Some people would like to legalize cocaine and heroin too: or, if not to put them openly on sale, at least to make them fully available for the treatment of addicts—which, say other specialists, would be quite mad. My own view has not changed since I first considered the problem all those years ago. Legalizing cannabis, let alone the harder drugs—although it might break the pushing chain and keep some youngsters from becoming involved in crime—would be too dangerous. By lowering the inhibition against taking any drugs, it would cost more lives than it would save. Cannabis does not necessarily lead to heroin or cocaine, but almost all heroin and cocaine addicts have started on cannabis.

There are no easy answers, no absolute solutions, just as there is, unfortunately, no magical "British system"—only a bitter common problem which, like many of the world's problems, we must simply live with and struggle to contain. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Sununu came to Washington believing in good government; oddly enough, he still does. He's the President's man—and good at it, now that he's learning the ropes. But more than that, in the Bush Administration, he remains

THE GREAT RIGHT HOPE

PETER OSTERLUND

WE'VE COME TO the end of Act I, Scene I of *Mr. Sununu Goes to Washington.* Like Frank Capra's Mr. Smith, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu has come to Washington and, in a capital ritual, has been busily shedding himself of provincial habits while learning about the way things are done in the halls of power. We all knew Sununu was a quick study—a whiz of an engineer with as many degrees as *u*'s in his name, who triumphed in the rough-and-tumble of New England politics, racking up three consecutive two-year terms as governor of New Hampshire. What we didn't know was what kind of person he'd turn out to be once he'd figured out Washington.

The pundits expected Sununu to be the Great Right Hope, a conservative's conservative, strategically positioned to influence the direction of a Presidency that showed signs of ideological acedia from its first moments of existence.

Though it's hardly been smooth sailing for the new Administration, Sununu has shown himself to be a consummate staff man, a near-perfect match for the pragmatic inclinations and methodology of his boss. Those who believed Sununu would become an ideological rudder for the Bush Presidency are likely to be quite disappointed. But those who saw in Sununu the makings of a smart, savvy staff chief may come to see that their predictions were right. Indeed, after only two months in office, Sununu already has once-skeptical Washington insiders cooing in admiration.

"He's an extraordinarily talented and intellectually self-confident man—and also has a very comfortable approach to members of Congress," marvels Minnesota Representative Vin Weber. As a supporter of Jack Kemp's abortive presidential bid, Weber says he regarded Sununu as "tough and mean and ambitious." Now, Weber only raves about Sununu's interpersonal skills: "He's got a strong enough sense of himself that he is able to deal with people effectively—none of the arrogance of a Don Regan, although Sununu would be much more justified in such arrogance. With Sununu, there's a sort of soft touch that disarms the people he's dealing with."

The other side of the aisle agrees. Immediately after the election, House Majority Whip Tony Coelho was openly dubious about Sununu's chances of fitting in—and in Washington, fitting in is half the battle—what with Sununu's temper and reputation for intellectual arrogance. Now Coelho says: "He's extremely bright, extremely able; appointing him was the exact right thing for George Bush to do."

Such statements are all the more remarkable when one considers the context in which they are made. Presidential honeymoons are supposed to be benign periods in the nation's political life. But the Bush honeymoon has been, well, different. The first hints of divorce came shortly after Inauguration Day, when the Treasury Department proposed the imposition of a fee on savings accounts to help bail out ailing S&Ls. That idea went down in flames. Then there was roiling controversy over two of Bush's Cabinet nominees: Dr. Louis Sullivan, whose appointment as Secretary of Health and Human Services ran into flak when he presented contradictory stances on abortion; and John Tower, whose nomination as Defense Secretary has been jeopardized by allegations of wine, women, and song.

IN THE CENTER of all this has been the chief of staff. Even the best chiefs endure their trials by fire. James Baker built a towering reputation as Reagan's first staff chief, despite the fact that he presided over a politically disastrous effort to cut Social Security benefits. Nothing Sununu has been involved in compares to that monumental blunder. Baker, too, ran herd over a staff riven by ideological and personality clashes. The gears of the White House staff machinery under Sununu mesh more easily, if only because the hand-picked aides don't have the deeply etched political convictions of their Reagan counterparts.

Or, for that matter, the experience. Sununu has surrounded himself largely with men with middling, at best, practice in the art of Washington hardball. The hard knocks have come unusually fast and surprisingly early to Sununu, in part, insiders claim, because of the inexperience of his staff. "A computer is only as good as the information being fed into it," says Coelho. "Sununu's effectiveness may be limited by the people around him."

But Sununu's effectiveness has also been thwarted by his own inexperience in the ways of Washington. Sununu himself conceded that "there were a couple of things, with the

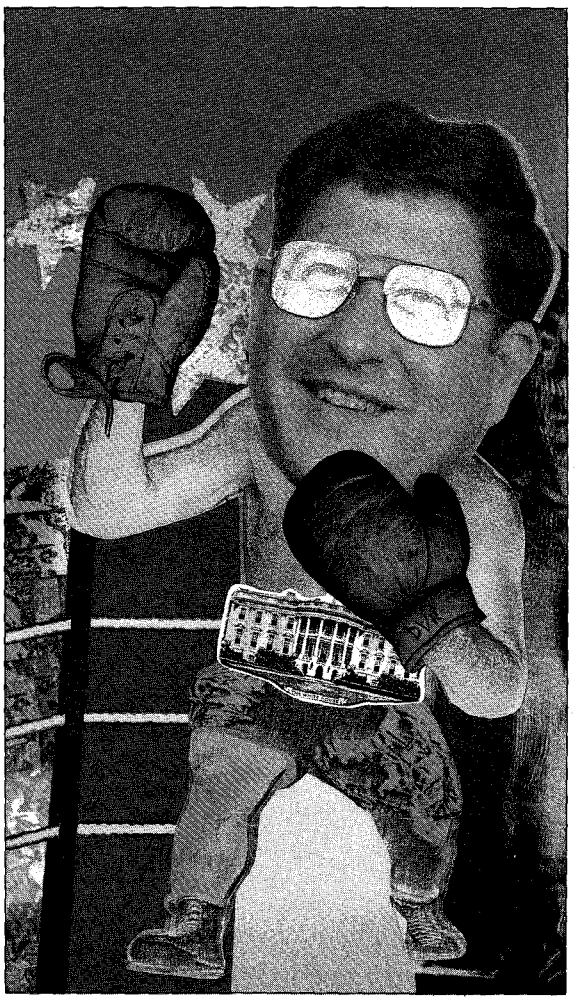
Mr. Osterlund is a Washington-based political reporter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

benefit of hindsight, I might have tweaked a little better."

One example is a private briefing staged by the White House for Republican senators on an FBI investigation of two charges involving Tower's drinking habits and relations with women. The problem? The Republicans got the latest word on the FBI's findings before Sam Nunn, a fact that was said to have left the Senate Armed Services Committee chairman "furious."

A second example: just three days after George Bush pronounced the war against drugs a top priority, the Administration revealed that William Bennett would not be included in the President's Cabinet. The political symbolism of the incident seemed lost on Sununu, who argued that the President's determination to fight drug abuse ought not to be equated with the number of people in the Cabinet.



Then there was the imbroglio about the savings-account levy. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady floated the idea as a way to pay part of the multi-billion-dollar cost of rescuing the S&L industry, ravaged by widespread fraud and mismanagement.

Brady floated the plan during the Administration's first week—a bad move, not only because it seemed to contradict the President's no-new-tax pledge, but also because it offered Democrats a wonderful opportunity to smear a wayward Administration proposal, and thus the Administration itself, without appearing to have been the first to end the honeymoon.

The *Washington Post* gleefully labeled it a "tax" and Democrats smelled raw meat. "Really very foolish," sniffed Senate Finance Committee Chairman Lloyd Bentsen. "Whether you want to call it a tax or you want to call it a user fee, that's a matter of semantics. The results are the same."

Sununu knew a bad thing when he saw it and reportedly expressed irritation at a senior staff meeting on the morning that the *Post* broke the news of the Brady proposal. He was said to be further miffed by a flip remark from Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Chairman L. William Seidman that the plan constituted something called a "reverse toaster," i.e., "instead of the bank giving you a toaster when you make a deposit, you give them one."

But Sununu couldn't leave bad enough alone, appearing on the David Brinkley show to defend the levy as a mere increase in the premium banks and S&Ls already pay for federal deposit insurance.

Sununu has said that the incident has drilled home the importance of staying in close touch with Cabinet secretaries, particularly when they are elbow deep in politically touchy projects. Yet some around him think he may have taken another message from the levy affair. "I think he learned . . . that he doesn't need to comment on or defend every idea that seeps out of every crack in the Administration, that he doesn't always need to play circus ringmaster," says a senior White House official. "You can see him growing into his job daily; he picks things up very quickly."

No one has ever said otherwise about him. Sununu's life sounds like some sort of American dream—played at 78 rpm. He was born in 1939 of a Lebanese-American father and a Lebanese-Greek mother in Havana, where dad distributed French movies. The family moved to Queens, N.Y., where Sununu and his siblings were reared in solidly upper-middle-class Catholic rectitude. He soon went on to excel at everything.

At 17, Sununu ruled the pack at the LaSalle Military Academy, a Catholic school in Oakdale, Long Island. He was lieutenant colonel, the highest rank at the school. Sununu entered LaSalle on a $10,000 scholarship, beating out several hundred others. Legend has it that, once there, Sununu rarely cracked a book—save for the night before an exam, when his apparently photographic memory enabled him to simply riffle through the text. Whatever his technique, it worked: Sununu graduated first in his class and, at LaSalle's commencement, received so many medals that the presiding administrator handed him a silver bowl and told him to wait up on the platform.

Sununu went on to MIT, majored in mechanical engineering, and, by all accounts, carried on in much the same manner. "Everyone who ever roomed with him got into academic trouble," E. Patrick Coady, a former fraternity brother, told the *New England Monthly*. "He never did any goddam work but he got the top grades." Perhaps to keep himself occupied, he married an Irish-Catholic Boston University student, began a family, then co-founded a business marketing thermodynamic engineering designs. By the time he graduated from college, the business employed 150. By the time he was 27, Sununu had earned his PhD and had been appointed to the engineering faculty at Tufts. Two years later, he became associate dean, all while running two consulting businesses out of the office.

Sununu's political rite of passage occurred after he and his family (which by now included eight children) became tax refugees from Massachusetts and, in 1969, took up residence in New Hampshire. His father had been a conservative, Taft-wing Republican loyalist; whenever the Democrats were in control, the elder Sununu charged, "it was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax, tax, tax." The younger Sununu said that he "probably" inherited his father's conservatism. In any event, he became an enthusiastic supporter of New Hampshire's anti-tax traditions, leveraging himself from a spot on the Salem planning board to the New Hampshire House in 1972 and, after four losing races, to the governor's office in 1982.

Sununu inherited a $400-million state budget with a $44-million shortfall and immediately set out to make quick work of the problem with the dispassion of a systems analyst, bringing in private industry experts and a state-of-the-art accounting system. Budgets were torn apart, fees (including a real-estate transfer tax) raised, departments reconstructed and streamlined, and, within four years, where a deficit once stood, the state found itself collecting interest on a record $47.8-million surplus.

Sununu was on top of every detail. On the desk in his Statehouse office glowed the green cathode-ray screen of an IBM PC AT, whence he could tap into the state's new IBM 4361 mainframe computer for an up-to-the-minute peek at the state's financial health. He quickly developed a reputation as the governor who would spot an arithmetical mistake in a half-billion-dollar budget. "Computerization can help the state leverage the capacity of employees to function better," Sununu told *Time*. Voters loved their jargon-spouting engineer-politician, re-electing him by thumping majorities.

Which is more than might be said about him by the legislators he worked with. Democrats and Republicans alike tell stories of Sununu's short temper. William Bartlett Jr., the Republican president of the New Hampshire Senate, tells of the time Sununu became incensed with two GOP senators who argued with his plan to restructure the state environmental agency. Sununu, Bartlett says, told the two that he didn't want to talk about it, shouted at them to get out of his office, and, for good measure, picked up the bill and threw it at them.

As much as Sununu has the President's ear, so the President seems to have Sununu's heart. Sununu seems ready to reintroduce Washington to the concept of a chief who is, above all, staff.

"He gives the distinct impression that he's not interested in other people's ideas," says state Democratic Party Chairman Joseph Grandmaison. "He talks down to you." Others are still less charitable—but more anonymous. "Sununu is a dreadful man. I'm sick about Bush's choice," one unnamed Republican legislator told the *National Journal*. "His rudeness is legendary. The only staff he'll hire is the kind he can push around. He starts out any conversation thinking he knows more about it than you, and that he knows best. He has no ability to listen. It scares me—he's so arrogant."

Despite the barbs, the closest Sununu came to a political Waterloo was over the Seabrook nuclear-power plant, a stalled $5.7-billion project on which he had staked much of his prestige. Some critics asserted that Sununu had used his engineering background as a way of questioning other people's competence to hold an opinion on nuclear power. If so, it didn't work: Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis effectively blocked the licensing of the reactor by refusing to cooperate in emergency planning.

But Sununu got the last laugh. Though a bona-fide conservative, he confounded the pundits two years ago when he endorsed George Bush over a field of more conspicuously conservative candidates. His position in the Bush Administration was probably assured nine months before the election, when his efforts on behalf of the Vice President enabled Bush to recover from an anemic third-place finish in the Iowa caucus and triumph in the New Hampshire primary. Shortly after Bush's victory, Sununu ruffled a few feathers by making it known that he was gunning for the staff chief's slot, and that he would not accept a lesser post, such as Energy Secretary.

SUNUNU'S SELECTION as chief of staff was heralded by the sort of headlines that seem quaint just a few months later. "Sununu Is Called Smart, Decisive, and Impatient," intoned the *New York Times*. "Sununu," predicted the *Wall Street Journal*, "Would Bring Fervent Conservative Views to Post." But, far from being the stormy ideologue, Sununu has set about busily molding himself and his *modus operandi* in the image of his boss.

"John Sununu is running his office in the style of George Bush," says Andrew H. Card Jr., a former Massachusetts legislator and mid-level Reagan Administration official who has emerged as a top Sununu aide. President and chief of staff meet twice a day—once at 8:45 A.M. and once at 4:45 P.M. Sununu, like Bush, has taken to the habit of unexpectedly dropping by the offices of White House aides. Also, like Bush, he has dispensed with as many of the trappings of pomposity as practicality allows—riding, for example, in the front seat of White House limousines, next to the driver.

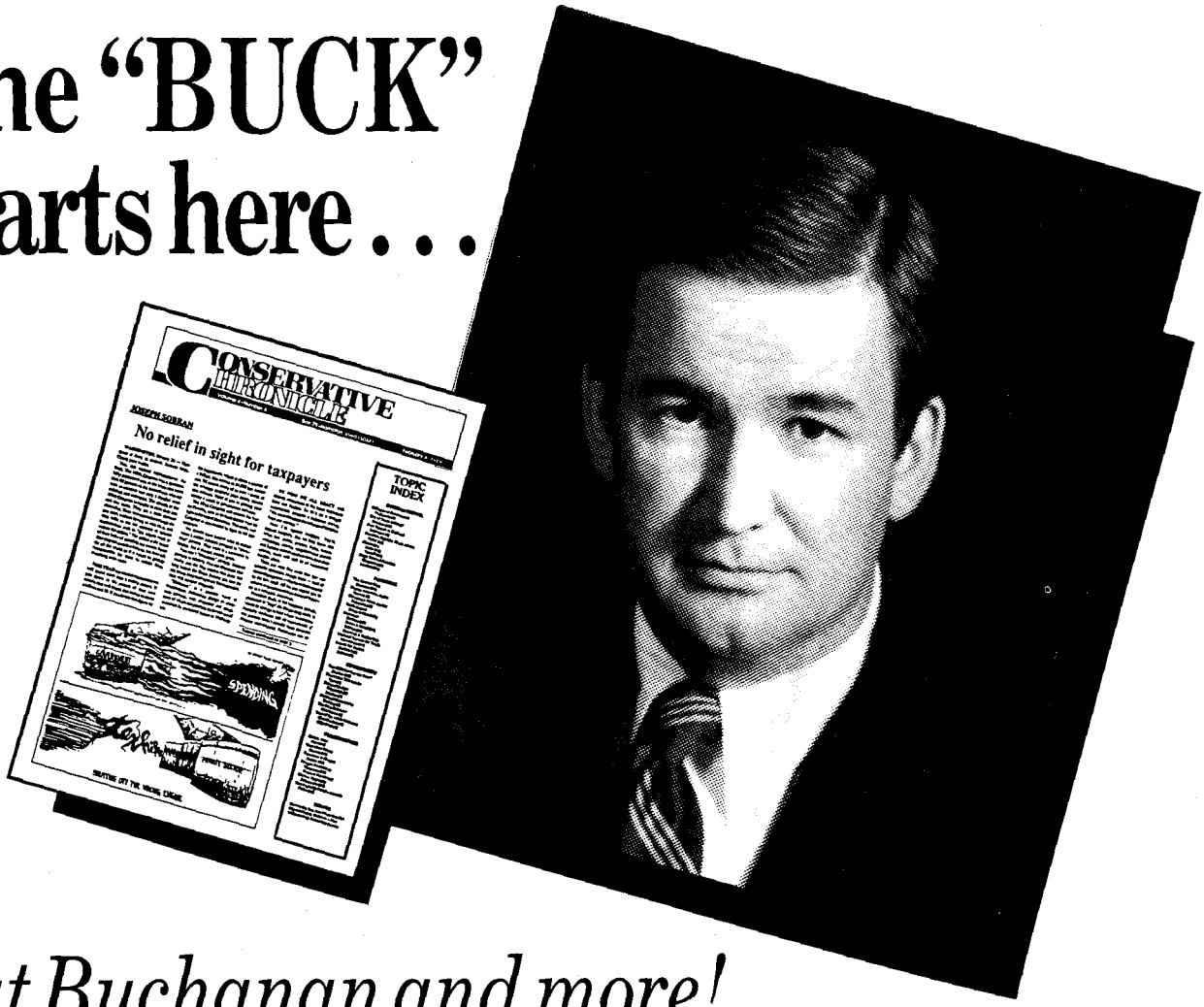
And he has adopted an easy style of press banter that, so far, seems to have won over even the hard-bitten denizens of the media. As a frequent guest on the Sunday-morning talk shows, Sununu often displays this wit, though it tends to border on the dopey, albeit charming, side. (Example: on Brinkley, Sam Donaldson defused an inconclusive, potentially testy exchange with the line, "Well, governor, you're the fodder, I'm the grinder," to which Sununu, not to be one-upped, replied, "Gee Sam, I thought I was the fodder and my wife was the mudder.")

Cute one-liners, of course, are the stuff on which political honeymoons are sustained. "Obviously, we're not into the heavy load," says Coelho. "When we get into April, May, and June, that will be a real test." Washington's annual budgetary shenanigans promise to be unusually Machiavellian this year and, with as savvy an operator as Richard Darman heading up the budget strategy, it's not clear what kind of influence Sununu will have on this matter.

Indeed, as much as Sununu has the President's ear, so the President seems to have Sununu's heart. Bush's agenda is Sununu's agenda, as it is supposed to be the agenda of any loyal staffer. As a result, Sununu seems ready to reintroduce Washington to a concept of the White House chief of staff's job that vanished during the Reagan years: that is, a chief who is, above all, staff. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The "BUCK" starts here...



Pat Buchanan and more!

Read Pat Buchanan's pointed, insightful column about national affairs every week. Now, when you subscribe to the CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE, you get two Buchanan columns printed in full every week along with the opinions of over 24 other distinguished columnists and 20 cartoonists with conservative appeal.

Buchanan revived his respected column after serving on the Reagan administration as communications director and assistant to the president. Previously an assistant to Presidents Nixon and Ford, he offers an insider's look at the workings of government and a behind-the-scenes perspective on policy-making in Washington.

Read Buchanan's "Dividing Line" feature in every CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE along with George F. Will, William F. Buckley, Jr., Donald Lambro, Jeane Kirkpatrick and many others.

To get Buchanan and a great line-up of his conservative contemporaries, call toll free or mail coupon and take advantage of an exceptional value — 52 issues of the CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE for only $36.00 — with a money back guarantee!

CONSERVATIVE CHRONICLE
Box 29
Hampton, Iowa 50441

CALL TOLL FREE 1-800-558-1244 ex. Ia.
Phone hours: Monday-Friday 8 to 5 CTZ

YES *I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for $36.00 (add $20.00 for foreign postage.) I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.*

Payment Method
☐ Check Enclosed ☐ Visa ☐ M.C. ☐ AX ☐ Bill Me

Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____

Address _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

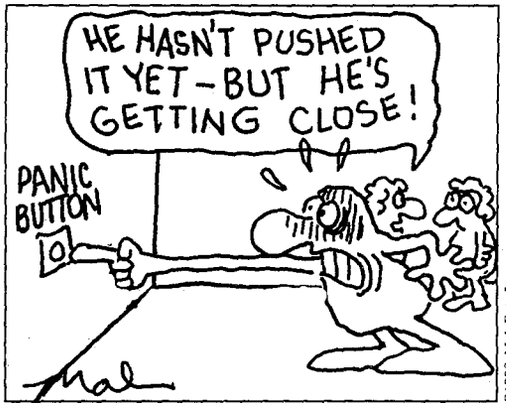
helo !!!!

"I'm talking wild *weather—blood rain, frogs dropping from clouds, giant hailstones . . ."*

The Moderates Are Coming

Neither this nor that, they blend
Like fine bindings, end to end,
Making John Sununu look
Like a banned-in-Boston book.

W. H. VON DREELE



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"BELIEVE ME, YOU WEST GERMANS STILL NEED TO UPGRADE YOUR WEAPONS!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE . . .

Democracy, said Churchill, is the worst form of government—except for all the others. It is also the most demanding, requiring traditions, prudence, and the civic virtues. But some conservatives consider it an easy cure-all at home and abroad. Call them:

THE DEMOCRACY BOOSTERS

CLAES G. RYN

"WHOM THE GODS would destroy they first make mad." One is reminded of this ancient saying by the flow of writing and rhetoric that today proclaims democracy as the salvation of the world. What brings the proverb to mind is the self-satisfied, utopian, and often quasi-religious manner in which a certain form of government is endorsed. A common theme is that a tide of democracy is sweeping the world and preparing the ground for remarkable progress. Everywhere humanity is demanding democracy, and in more and more countries their aspirations triumph. Rarely is democracy defined beyond a few generalities about human rights.

For some the term democracy has acquired religious connotations. Democracy is endorsed by, nay, demanded by God—a view that could hardly be more out of tune with traditional Western Christianity. The Christian tradition is reluctant to approve any one form of government as suited to all circumstances. It is acutely aware of the imperfect, sinful nature of man. It sees weaknesses in all human contrivances and warns against placing too much faith in political measures and institutions.

To those who today are extolling the wonders and triumphs of democracy, such traditional Christian caution must appear unacceptably gloomy, even perverse. In a recent column (*Washington Times*, December 23, 1988), Michael Novak abandons the old critical distance to particular political solutions in order to proclaim democracy (undefined, except as a vehicle of "human rights") as not only the way to human progress but the way ordained by God. Today people all over the world are "crying out against abuses of their God-given rights to self-determination." The spread of democracy is for Novak a great religious event, indeed an aspect of God's Incarnation. The "citizens of the world . . . demand the birth of democracy in history, in physical institutions: as physical as the birth at Bethlehem."

Does Novak consider the divinity of Democracy as his own discovery? No, this perspective, he asserts, is that of Jewish and Christian tradition. "This tradition instructs the human race to make constant progress. . . . It insists that societies must continually be reshaped, until each meets the measure the Creator has in mind for a just, truthful, free, and creative civilization." Yet St. Augustine is only one of the least sanguine of the many Christian thinkers who would have rejected out of hand, as utterly arrogant, and sacrilegious, a belief that mankind is destined for political perfection. Thinkers like Thomas Aquinas also counseled, not perpetual change of inherited ways, but social continuity and stability.

Pastor Richard John Neuhaus expresses similar, if somewhat less effusive, sentiments. He gives a very favorable account (*NR*, December 30, 1988) of a speech by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who is reported to have stressed the connection between Christianity and democracy and to have declared herself "an enthusiast for democracy." She concedes that Christians should not primarily be interested in what the majority wants. They should try to "ascertain what is the mind of the Holy Spirit." But, Pastor Neuhaus writes, "in the civil realm . . . democracy is the thing." Championing democracy is to capture "the moral initiative." Democracy, Pastor Neuhaus explains, is an emanation of religious truth. "Only within the Biblical tradition" are democratic rights "self-evident."

GEORGE WILL was once a political and cultural critic with considerable reserve toward democratist enthusiasms. Increasingly, he has given the impression of wishing to atone for previous sins against the spirit of the times. Today Will warmly praises what Larry Diamond at the Hoover Institution calls "a kind of global *Zeitgeist* for democracy." (*Washington Post*, December 18, 1988.) Countries around the world are being "cleansed" of dictatorships and authoritarianism. Will here applauds the work of the National Endowment for Democracy, the congressionally funded grant-making body. When first started the NED was viewed with suspicion by some because it would interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. But, according to Will, the NED is "one of this decade's good deeds." The people at the NED "know how to prepare the stony ground of authoritarian societies for the seeds of democratic skills—organization, mass persuasion."

That America should take the lead in reshaping the

Mr. Ryn is professor of politics at Catholic University and chairman of the National Humanities Institute. His books include Democracy and the Ethical Life *and the recent* Will, Imagination, and Reason.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

world is of course a familiar notion. Woodrow Wilson believed, in the words of Patrick Devlin, that "what America touched, she made holy." Thinking of this type, expressed with or without religious language, often unconsciously caricatures its own genre.

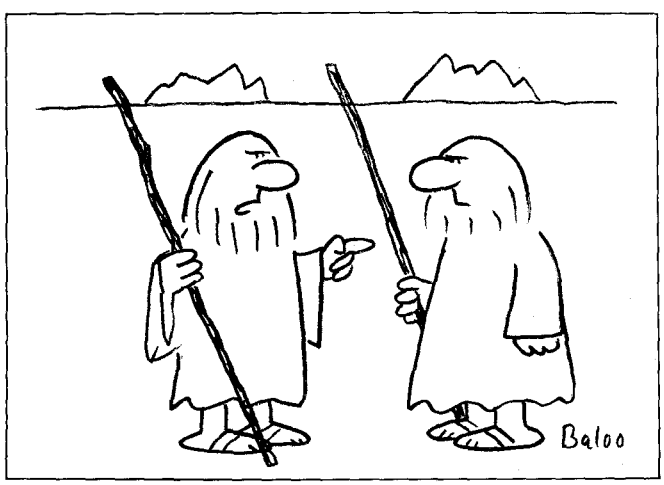
A writer who specializes in statistically documenting and celebrating the continual progress and beneficence of modern democratic America is Ben Wattenberg. "Never," he says, "has the culture of one nation been so far-flung and potent." (*Washington Times*, December 1, 1988.) The prospects for spreading American values are enormous. "Consider: last year alone, forty million VCRs were sold; the cassettes that go in them show mostly American movies and music. Important newsstands around the world now sell three American daily newspapers. There is now a near-global television news station: Cable News Network."

Perhaps the best sign that the world has been exposed to and is ripe for more American evangelization is that "there is, at last, a global language: American."

Henry Luce thought of the twentieth century as the American century. According to Wattenberg, the task of President Bush is to "lead us to another century, different to be sure, but still American-inspired." Wattenberg does not wish to appear immodest. "Our goal in the global game is not to *conquer* the world, only to *influence* it so that it is hospitable to our values." (Emphasis added.) Probably to give his readers confidence in the authenticity of this democratic progress, he points out: "American political consultants peddle 30-second spots in the strangest places."

Max Lerner finds that American freedoms "are the freedoms for which the outside world yearns." (*Washington Times*, January 2, 1988.) Perhaps before the end of this century, peoples around the world will finally have their wish. Lerner is hopeful that we can "look forward to a global social contract between nations and their leaders," to a worldwide "moral community of some sort."

One who applauds the passing of traditional societies is Professor Allan Bloom. Although in the universities Bloom would like to maintain some intellectual standards and professorial authority, for society at large he favors democratic majoritarianism. He endorses the authors of the American Constitution as "majoritarians." In a book that has been widely misinterpreted, Bloom bemoans the closing of the Enlightenment mind in American higher education. It was that mind, he believes, that founded America. He defends what he calls "the American project," a project of universal human rights. The latter conception was put forth by such thinkers as Locke and Rousseau.



"Look here—I'm *the voice crying in* this *wilderness."*

For Bloom, the American Revolution represents the same basic outlook as the French Revolution of 1789. He castigates Europeans who tried to stem the revolutionary tide. Their fears that egalitarianism would threaten what is high and sacred and lead to a general narrowing of the human horizon are dismissed by Bloom as "the special pleading of the reactionaries." An appealing feature of social-contract theory is for him that its egalitarian assumptions put all human beings on a common level. "It pulls the magic carpet out from under the feet of kings and nobles." The American project is ideologically and politically expansionist. "When we Americans speak seriously about politics, we mean that our principles of freedom and equality and the rights based on them are rational and everywhere applicable." Bloom sees in the American involvement in the Second World War not merely an effort to defeat a dangerous enemy. "World War II was really an educational project undertaken to force those who did not accept these principles to do so."

AMERICAN POLITICAL culture has long contained the notion that America should help change traditional societies, not least in old Europe, where conceited elites oppressed the common man. For Woodrow Wilson, it was not really until America's entry into the First World War that it became a war to make the world safe for democracy. Wilson remained suspicious of his European allies for not caring as deeply as he did for the right of popular self-government. In the Second World War, one of the reasons there could be a special relationship between Franklin Roosevelt and Josef Stalin was that the latter seemed to share the American wish to remake insufficiently democratic societies.

The men behind the American Constitution had a rather different outlook and temperament. They were steeped in the classical and Christian traditions generally and in specific English traditions, although their thought and practice also evolved in distinctively American directions. They entertained few illusions about the wisdom of the common man. They certainly did not wish to create a democracy in the sense of majoritarian rule according to the formula one man, one vote. Many of the key decision-makers were protected from popular pressures.

An individual like Thomas Paine with his egalitarian and majoritarian dreams bears a much closer resemblance to today's ardent advocates of democracy. So in some respects does Thomas Jefferson, who saw such representatives of the old European order as kings, nobles, and priests as a "confederacy against the happiness of the mass of the people." It was he who expressed his trust in the virtues of the common people. And it was he who repeatedly promoted the idea of popular rebellion as a way of cleansing governments of power abuse. Not even the cruelty and bloodshed of the French Revolution could shake his belief that it was ushering in a new and better era. An American who assessed the French Revolution very differently was John Adams. Seeing a bad omen already in the ideas behind that revolution, Adams reflected the dominant ethos

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of America's political founders and their English sympathizer Edmund Burke. It bears repeating that Thomas Jefferson was not one of the authors of the Constitution. At the time of its writing he was away in France, in more ways than one. It is also pertinent that he was and remained deeply dissatisfied with essential features of the Constitution, specifically the weak or non-existent popular control over many office-holders. Allan Bloom is mistaken in calling the American founders "majoritarians." His term may apply, with qualifications, to Thomas Jefferson.

A person who is not familiar with American history and observes today's celebrations of democratic progress might get the impression that such is the essence of American political and intellectual culture. But, as has been indicated, American tradition also contains a very different view of human nature, society, and the world with deep roots in the classical and Christian traditions. That ethos permeated the U.S. Constitution, and it shaped America's leading classes, its most important social institutions, and its general culture, although frequently and increasingly it did so in competition with other currents.

For most of American history the originally prevalent ethos retained sufficient power to keep democratism in check. By supplying a critical element and stressing the hard facts of life it managed to chasten utopian visions and to head off or moderate their practical consequences. Has the original American ethos exhausted itself and finally capitulated? Or has it merely withdrawn from public debate, thinking itself above refuting intellectual enthusiasts? But such individuals, if left unchecked, can have practical influence out of all proportion with the quality of their ideas.

Who are those today who are so euphoric in their praise for democracy and in their belief that America should lead the way to remake the world in its image? Are they leftist ideologues promoting a utopian blueprint for global happiness? Curiously, most of them carry the label "neoconservative." Conservatives used to have a reputation for being spoil-sports, for exposing the naïve and superficial to the hard realities of existence, for warning of the flaws of human nature and the severe limits of politics, most particularly for reacting viscerally against political panaceas and cant. American conservatives might also be expected to conserve or at least maintain continuity with the wisdom of those who authored their popularly oriented but anti-democratist Constitution.

What is disturbing about the burst of democratism is not that it is favorable to democracy. The present author has written at length in defense of democratic government. (See, for example, my *Democracy and the Ethical Life*.) The trouble is the blatantly uncritical and utopian nature of the endorsements of democracy. Few who urge the democratic transformation of the world bother to consider, except in the flimsiest manner, the special circumstances of time and place. Although democracy can be understood in vastly different ways, so that careful definitions are urgently needed, most of the champions of democracy seem virtually oblivious to that need. They give the impression that in order to extend the blessings of democracy to countries previously deprived of them, all that is needed is to *proclaim* democracy in the particular country. It will automatically work wonders, perhaps after a little coaching of the population by the National Endowment for Democracy.

The present author has suggested elsewhere that a distinction is necessary between what may be called constitutional, representative democracy and plebiscitary, majoritarian democracy. These two types of popular government are institutionally far apart and assume radically different notions of human nature and society. So different are they that it may even be undesirable to use the same word in speaking about them. The American Constitution is compatible with the constitutional form of democracy. The latter is conducive to limited and decentralized government and a proliferation of autonomous social groups. Plebiscitary, majoritarian democracy exists nowhere in pure form but aspires to the Rousseauistic ideal of unrestricted majority rule by the undifferentiated mass of the people on the basis of one man, one vote. To the extent that majoritarian democracy is realized, it tends to promote demagoguery, expansion and centralization of government, and totalitarian mobilization and organization of society.

Constitutional democracy is not the least demanding form of government, one easily implemented around the world. It is, on the contrary, perhaps the *most* demanding form of government imaginable, having extensive moral, intellectual, and cultural prerequisites. It is no mere coincidence that popular government of this type came into being here and there in Europe and America. A failure to understand the highly demanding preconditions of workable and lasting popular government and to take into account national and historical circumstances can produce disastrous practical consequences. But will anything deter democratists from pressing ever onward and upward?

THE RESERVATIONS here expressed about democratist progressivism do not signify a wish to return to some earlier age, if that were possible. Modernity has brought genuine and indispensable advances, among them a deeper appreciation for human creativity. It has revised an overly static conception of the higher good for man in earlier Western thought. Modernity has a greater awareness of the dangers of stagnation in various spheres of human life. But all too frequently these insights have assumed dangerous utopian and sentimental forms. They have been perverted into fantastic beliefs that man can outgrow the limitations of his existence. Millennialist dreams and ideologies cause terrible human suffering when attempts are made to impose them on intractable reality. This modern temptation needs to be identified and resisted in whatever form it may appear.

Perhaps the most striking and telling fact about the present enthusiasm for spreading democracy throughout the world is that it should flourish at a time when Western democracies would seem to have every reason to fear for their own future. But being self-critical is out of character for democratism. Indeed, writing of this type usually comes across as glaringly and ominously escapist.

A person not inclined to wishful thinking cannot shrug off the evidence of social disorder in the Western democracies. A few examples will indicate a serious deterioration of self-restraint, responsibility, and standards. In the world's leading democracy a sense of insecurity is chronic and generally accepted as inevitable. In its bigger cities especially there are large areas where citizens fear to tread. In

(Continues on page 52)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERU'S CAPITALIST REVOLUTIONARY

With 20,000 per cent inflation, thousands of Shining Path guerrillas, a mad socialist president, and a Soviet-backed opponent, Mario Vargas Llosa couldn't have written a better novel. As the pro-capitalism candidate, he's the main character.

HAVE TYPEWRITER, WILL RUN

RICHARD GRENIER

A CRISIS HAS taken hold in Peru that might soon make the present doings in Central America look like a curtain-raiser. Shining Path guerrillas are on a bloodthirsty rampage. Inflation in the last quarter of 1988 was 20,000 per cent, which in a year would multiply prices a terrifying two hundred fold. "Populist" President Alan García has seen his approval rating fall over the last two years from 70 to 13 per cent. In the jungle, drug lords rule their fiefdoms and the Maoist Shining Path (which finances its operations by drug trafficking) controls most roads into Lima. Guerrilla bombings of electric-power lines cause almost daily blackouts. Water, too, is in short supply. Each week brings new rumors of a military coup.

The electoral scene is ominous as well. A leading candidate in the upcoming presidential election, Marxist Alfonso Barrantes Lingán, an admirer of Mikhail Gorbachev, is surrounded by Soviet advisors. Peru's military regime of the 1970s brought into the country millions of dollars' worth of Soviet tanks, jet planes, and helicopters, and there are now more Soviet military advisors and diplomatic officials in Peru than in Nicaragua. Peru is in the throes of an exceptional economic crisis. Nationalized industries are nearing bankruptcy. Unemployment is at a record high. The country's economy is thought to have regressed by 8 per cent last year. In the whole Western Hemisphere, Peru outperformed only Nicaragua and Haiti. According to a recent poll, two-thirds of Peruvian teenagers wished they'd been born elsewhere.

Yet the U.S. press has barely taken notice of Peruvian developments, and the State Department seems able to concern itself with only one Latin American problem at a time. The Bush Administration, absorbed with the plan for Nicaragua recently agreed on in Guatemala by five Central American presidents, seems not yet to have found Peru on the map. By the time it's located, the whirlwind might have struck.

An implausible knight in shining armor has appeared in Peru, however, and from a quarter that has produced far more millenarian ecstatics than practical politicians: the Latin American literary world. He is Mario Vargas Llosa, an eminent novelist (*The War of the End of the World*) who, starting from Marxist—even Communist—beginnings, saw the light during the 1960s and has developed into an inspiring champion of free enterprise and freedom. Feeling his country needed him in the current crisis (almost all his novels have Peruvian settings), Vargas Llosa threw himself into politics scarcely a year ago, founded a new political party, Libertád (Liberty), and now, with the campaign already banging away for the election a year from now, is given at least an even chance against the Marxist Barrantes, his leading opponent. Opinion polls, amazingly, show Vargas Llosa leading by seven percentage points.

I met Vargas Llosa three years ago at a conference of PEN, the international literary organization. Secretary of State George Shultz had just made his usual soporific speech when Vargas Llosa set the hall afire, dramatically warning that to escape from an authoritarian regime only to fall victim to Marxism-Leninism was to go from the frying pan into the fire. Former Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau told me in some astonishment, "If that man goes into politics he could be president of his country."

IT MIGHT COME to pass. Although if so it will be to the chagrin of the international literary set, which has almost drummed Vargas Llosa out of the corps. He is nothing less than a Latin American Margaret Thatcher, and he is perhaps the most successful novelist-turned-politician since Benjamin Disraeli.

Ten years ago, with his ideas already taking shape, Vargas Llosa met economist Hernando de Soto, former managing director of Banco de Reserva de Peru (the central bank) and a major Peruvian entrepreneur. De Soto, Vargas Llosa's good friend and advisor, has just published an extraordinary book, already a best-seller throughout Latin America, *The Other Path: The Invisible Revolution in the Third World* (Harper & Row). De Soto and Vargas (who wrote the book's introduction) maintain that mercantilism, dead in the United States and much of Europe for some two hundred years, is still very much alive in Latin America. Behind a free-market façade, they say, a privileged, oligarchical elite in Latin America operates state-controlled economies, denying any participation to newcomers. They

Mr. Grenier is a columnist for the Washington Times *and (London)* Sunday Telegraph. *His novel,* The Marrakesh One-Two *(1984), is still in print from Penguin.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

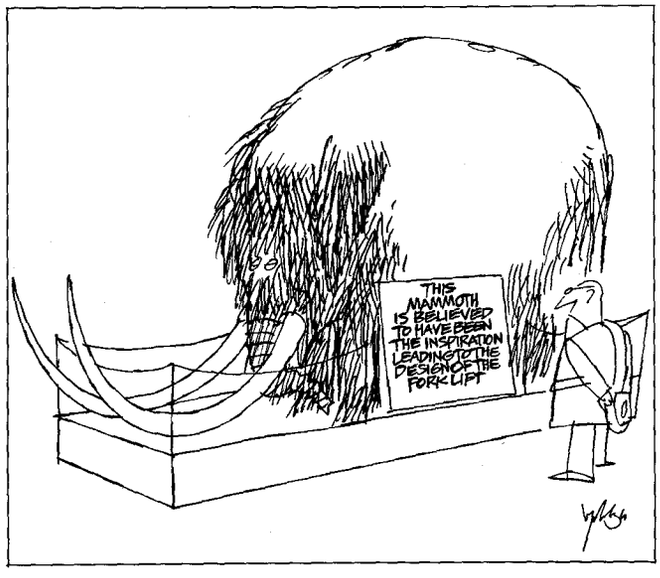
thus argue that Peru's main hope of wealth creation lies in the dynamic members of its much-scorned underground economy, its only true entrepreneurial class.

The last four decades have witnessed the biggest social revolution in Latin America since the Spanish conquest. In the 1940s, two-thirds of the people of Peru lived isolated in the Andean sierra, working on large estates. Improved communication and travel facilities have brought millions flooding into the cities, and now the situation has exactly reversed, with two-thirds living in urban centers, six million in Lima alone. What greeted these country people when they flocked to the city? A bureaucratic hydra spewing out countless red-tape decrees, effectively forbidding legal entrepreneurial activity. De Soto did a study, privately setting up a tiny clothing workshop (four sewing machines). Although his people paid compulsory bribes and assiduously worked a full work week, government authorization to set up shop took almost a year. A comparable workshop in New York City could be launched in four hours.

The response of Peru's country people, newly arrived in the unwelcoming cities, was to go underground, creating in trade, housing, and transportation an informal economy without which Peru could not now survive. "Informals" have built 83 per cent of Lima's 331 produce markets. They construct half the city's houses. They operate 95 per cent of its public transportation. During the last quarter-century, the state devoted $173 million to low-cost housing, the informals $8.3 billion—48 times as much. Overall, the underground economy accounts for almost 40 per cent of Peru's GNP and 60 per cent of its man-hours worked.

Pointing to the soaring economies of the Pacific Rim, Vargas Llosa—an unabashed admirer of the United States on a continent not exactly famous for this—is insisting to Peruvians that U.S. and Western wealth was created not by plundering the Third World but by the dynamism of free markets. This is not the usual pap given Latin Americans by either the Left or the Right, and it's setting off shock waves.

Peru has repeatedly led the dance in Latin America. It was in the first wave of countries to fall to military dictatorship in a series of coups d'état that swept the region in the late 1960s and the 1970s. Again, with the election of Fernando Belaúnde Terry in 1980, it was the first major Latin American country to return to civilian control in the much-praised regional return to democratic rule of this decade. Things began to go wrong, however, with the 1985 election as president of an erratic, 35-year-old populist-nationalist named Alan García Pérez.



It is hard now to recapture the mood of fuzzy optimism that accompanied García's arrival in power as he stumped the country and the world, shaking his fist at the International Monetary Fund and excoriating Yanqui economic imperialism. García limited payments on foreign debt, slashed interest rates, froze prices, increased wages and subsidies, increased spending on almost everything, and ran a colossal budget deficit. The operation worked for about two years until Peru's foreign-exchange reserves ran out, whereupon, short of cash and feeling he needed to do something dramatic, García ordered expropriation of the country's private banks.

It was a turning point. The move revealed a deep respect for private property in a broad range of the Peruvian population, including the country's entrepreneurial "informals." Vargas Llosa produced a thunderous broadside, "Toward a Totalitarian Peru," spontaneously republished everywhere in the country, and García's bank-expropriation move collapsed.

The public purse was now empty (as it would shortly have been in any case) and García's reputation was in shreds. Inflation took off with a roar and the Peruvian economy went into free fall. Leaders of García's own party now called for his resignation. Lima newspapers speculate as to whether he uses narcotics. He was recently asked on television if he had spent time in a mental hospital and has admitted privately that he was indeed under psychiatric care not too long ago, but only for a "rest." There is a widespread belief in Peru that the ebullient president —who in better days couldn't pass a balcony without giddily improvising a speech, still rouses his cabinet ministers at two or three in the morning, and on an official visit to Mexico City sang the night away with mariachi bands—is a psychopath. *The New Yorker*, in a lengthy article published a year ago, hailed García as bringing to Peru "the youthfulness, the vigor, and the idealism of John F. Kennedy." Six months after the event the magazine still considered García's attempt to nationalize Peru's private banks "almost certainly a shrewd political move." Someone holding these views today, only a year later, in a country whose president is widely considered insane, would be a very lonely figure indeed.

In Latin America, socialism of one form or another has long held a monopoly on public-policy initiatives on behalf of the poor. With the entry into electoral politics of Mario Vargas Llosa, this is true no longer. The ultimate choice for Peru is straightforward, says the new-born politician in a no-nonsense mood: democracy or Communism. But he must first win an election in the rough and tumble of daily politics, after which the hard part will begin. Vargas Llosa is under no illusions. With Peru in a state of economic, political, and military chaos, he will have his work cut out for him. But he has a mission. "The truly original, revolutionary thing for Latin America," he says with conviction, "is the democratic option." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BEARING GIFTS

Without its army, the USSR is a Third World country.
Now it wants Third World-style loans—loans it can never repay.
To help Gorbachev's reform program instead of the Red Army,
why not send CARE packages to the Soviet people?

COMRADE, CAN YOU SPARE A DIME?

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

THE WISDOM of investing in, or lending money to, Gorbachev's Russia, as he would like us to do, is doubtful for two reasons: one economic, the other political. First the economic reason. Suppose that Gorbachev succeeds: Soviet industry becomes efficient, consumer goods plentiful, and agriculture produces more than enough to feed the Soviet Union.

This would take many years in any event. But even if it were accomplished, Soviet manufactured goods would hardly find a market in developed countries, and sales to undeveloped countries could not provide enough hard currency to repay loans. Hence, manufactured goods could not significantly contribute to the export surplus the Soviets would need to service and ultimately to pay back major loans or investments. As for Soviet agriculture, if it ever were to produce an exportable surplus, it would not find a market abroad: there is a worldwide food glut already.

That leaves raw materials. The Soviets can continue to export oil and gas in the immediate future (although many of their oil wells are nearing exhaustion). At present prices, however, Soviet oil earnings barely suffice to cover current imports, and the price of oil and gas is not likely to rise much. The same is true of gold, which the Soviets also produce. In short, even under unrealistically favorable assumptions, the Soviets could not export enough to earn what would be needed to service and repay the major loans or investments they want. Yet, without such loans, the favorable assumptions themselves become unrealistic.

We should remember our discouraging experiences with Eastern Europe, which has already embarked on most of the reforms that Gorbachev aspires to. We helped finance these reforms. Yet Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, et al. now are quite unable to pay back those loans, and prospects are dim of their doing so any time soon.

To be sure, the Soviets have hitherto been exemplary debtors. But the loans they repaid so punctually were small loans used to finance current trade. Now the Soviets want long-term major credits. These, they could *not* pay back, even if Gorbachev's dreams were to come true. We would not be lending money; we would be donating it. Why pretend that donations are loans?

Mr. van den Haag's most recent book (with Tom J. Farer) is U.S. Ends and Means in Central America.

What, then, about the foreign-policy implications of major loans to the USSR? If Gorbachev were to succeed with our help, we would then be dealing with a more efficient and therefore stronger country. Ineluctably, a stronger Soviet Union would be more dangerous to our interests.

Some argue that the Soviets would become more peaceful if Gorbachev were to succeed. To be sure, his speeches, as well as his diplomatic and military moves, suggest peaceful intentions in the immediate future and, in politics, one cannot ask for eternity. Still, how long will Gorbachev last? Who will succeed him? We can only guess.

Will a more prosperous Soviet Union be less of a threat in the long run? There is no evidence, apart from Marxist claptrap, that war has much to do with economic difficulties, no evidence that prosperous countries tend to be less bellicose than poor ones. Poverty had little to do with the last two world wars, or the many local ones fought since. Nazi Germany attacked only after Hitler had made it prosperous, thereby ensuring the loyalty of most Germans to the bitter end. There is no historical basis for believing that a more prosperous Soviet Union will ipso facto be less aggressive. But it will be stronger.

CONTRARY TO wishful disquisitions, strict dictatorships are not more aggressive than relaxed ones, or democracies. Franco was not aggressive, even though his fellow dictators were. However, democratic France and England were enthusiastic expansionists in colonial wars before 1914, and democratic America was quite bellicose in Cuba, Mexico, and the Philippines. However welcome it may be on other grounds, *glasnost* cannot be counted on to produce peace.

Loans should anyway not depend on guesses about the favorable intentions of present or future Soviet rulers. It can never be in our political interest to strengthen the Soviet empire's potential as long as it remains an empire. The threat, whether latent or actual, is too great. We have nothing to gain by helping to make it greater—especially if we lose our money in the process.

What, then, tempts hardheaded bankers to lend money to Gorbachev? Even when there is a high likelihood of ultimate loss, banks manage to do well because govern-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ments, in direct and indirect ways, guarantee most international loans and even subsidize them. In rare instances (e.g., in Central America) the shareholders of the bank may lose when loans are not repaid. More frequently taxpayers do. But the bankers themselves, never. Loans mean fees, commissions, interest, power, prestige, higher salaries, and very little personal risk.

Nominally banks don't lend to the Soviet Union, but to enterprises and organizations within it, which look capable of repaying. But they cannot do so without the export surplus the Soviets have no chance of achieving. This does not appear on the balance sheet or in the project presentations. These loans usually are tied to a specific purpose. If the purpose and the borrowing enterprise seem sound, the loan passes muster with bank boards. Yet balance sheets mean little in a socialist economy and are quite irrelevant to dollar repayments. Bankers are not trained in socialist economics, nor in looking beyond their specific loans. Not least, bankers are far more interested in expansion and short-term profits than in long-term repayment prospects. The national interest is not part of their balance sheet. Their record—from Peru to Hungary—is discouraging.

What should be done? Start with some negatives.

1. The U.S. should oppose any net increase in loans to Soviet-bloc entities by international bodies (e.g., the World Bank), the capital of which comes in part from the United States. If outvoted, the U.S. should refuse to increase, and if necessary decrease, its capital contribution.

2. Our government should discourage American bankers and corporations from lending to the USSR or investing there by refusing to guarantee or subsidize loans and investments, and by refusing to allow losses suffered by extending loans to the Soviet Union, or by investing there, to be deducted for tax purposes from earnings in the U.S. or elsewhere. We might make an exception for voluntary, unsubsidized investment in small-scale private cooperatives since these assist the development of an independent class of private owners. But the sums involved here are likely to be small.

Of course, we cannot prevent Europeans from making loans, however risky. But if our refusal does not discourage them it will still cut our own losses.

That much about the negatives. Is there a positive response to *glasnost* and *perestroika* that would foster and not harm our interests?

Mr. Gorbachev has announced a reduction of 500,000 active troops and ten thousand tanks in Europe. This will reduce the Soviet superiority over NATO (currently 3 to 1) a little, and is certainly welcome. However, the asymmetry of forces will not be reduced if we decrease NATO strength in response before parity has been achieved—and we are still a very long way from achieving parity.

I propose, therefore, that we offer *gifts* to the Soviet people. Any major loans would actually be disguised gifts anyway, since the Soviets could not repay them. But because they are *disguised* as loans, such gifts would not be

How to Save Communism: A Modest Prospectus

NEW YORK—The financial world was rocked today by the announcement that Kohlberg, Kravis, and Roberts has joined forces with the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) to finance a leveraged buyout of the Soviet Union for $2 trillion. KKR said it was approached secretly by high CPSU officials who believed that restructuring of the huge conglomerate of enterprises and states was becoming necessary for a more rational operation. "We just grew like your Topsy," one CPSU official said. "We kept adding industries and countries without thinking how they fit in. Then with KKR's help we found that if the non-essential areas were spun off, the parts were worth more than the whole."

Under the preliminary agreement, the CPSU will be left with the core enterprises it created and ran profitably for seventy years, such as the armed forces, the KGB, and Agitprop. Other state-run industries will be incorporated and sold to expansion-minded corporate counterparts throughout the world. Properties that are ill-suited geographically for efficient operations will be spun off to private investors. All of Eastern Europe will fall into this category.

An exclusive interview with a KKR spokesman today revealed that a powerful group within the Party apparatus has created a high-powered think-tank charged with finding some method by which Party control would continue while economic deficiencies were being overcome. KKR cooperated by allowing its computer room and its programs to be used by the Russians on a Sunday when KKR was briefly between takeovers.

The results of the computer study of the Communist system were so unequivocal that the special KKR red signal, indicating a prime takeover target, went off in every category. In its simplest form, the printout revealed a concern with huge asset value which was giving a negative return on equity in almost every area of enterprise. Furthermore, the rate of expansion had been getting worse each year for the past seventy years. At that point the computer program automatically went into its second mode, analyzing the value of restructuring and spin-off to the total system. The profit potential was so staggering that the system went into Maximum Profit Alert, an action program that automatically rings home telephones of KKR partners, Wachtell, Lipton, and the typing pool, until answered.

The data was presented to key Communist Party officials in a secret, all-night session. Party Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev found almost no opposition to the key details of the plan, since the restructuring would leave the Party with trillions of dollars, a percentage of every spun-off group, and direct control of those core entities where Party leaders felt especially suited by

Dr. Coleman is a psychiatrist who has contributed articles on politics and history to the Wall Street Journal *and other publications.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perceived as generous, or elicit gratitude. Further, if we do not acknowledge that our loans or investments are, in effect, gifts, we will be likely to donate far more than is reasonable. We should donate to the limit of our generosity. But if we pretend that we are lending, we may donate far more than we ever intended. Not least, gifts disguised as loans tend to produce bitterness on all sides. The expectation of repayment is raised and the lender is disappointed when he is not paid back. The borrower feels that the requests for repayment, and even for the servicing of the loan, are heavy burdens. Latin America clearly illustrates what is at stake here. Most of our money is now lost. It became a donation by default. But by lending instead of donating it, we have fueled hostility to the United States. Why play Uncle Shylock a second time?

Thus, undisguised gifts would be better. But what kind of gifts, then? Consumer goods would help the Soviets raise their living standard. They would also be highly visible: Soviet citizens would be aware of receiving American gifts, which should be distributed randomly rather than sold or used as rewards. The consumer goods, which may include food, should consist of goods not produced by, or not widely available in, the USSR. Soviet citizens should receive those amenities that make life more comfortable, but that do not contribute to military strength. Indeed, we might send those goods like radios, VCRs, even satellite-TV dishes and photocopying machines, that would over time undermine the regime's control of information.

Years ago the sociologist David Riesman proposed, tongue in cheek, that we might end Stalin's regime and the cold war throwing fountain pens, matches, jeans, or pantyhose from airplanes. But Riesman was not altogether serious, and anyway, Stalin would not have allowed it. Gorbachev could hardly object. Our gifts to the Soviet people would be a generous response to his initiatives.

I do not believe that *perestroika*—the reintroduction of capitalism—can succeed under the guidance of the Soviet Communist Party, although it may go as far as it has in Eastern Europe. So might *glasnost*, although I wouldn't want to bet on the prospects of either. Still, Soviet citizens might lead a more comfortable life and our gifts could help. They could do no harm. Beyond this we cannot go beyond the role of sympathetic bystanders to Soviet developments. We cannot (and should not try to) influence Soviet domestic policies beyond the human-rights agenda that is traditionally part of American foreign policy. It is their race, on their track. We should not bet on any of the horses, whatever the "expert" bookmakers tell us.

But why should we not send lots of jeans, chocolates, ballpoint pens, pantyhose, vacuum cleaners, VCRs, or medicines to the USSR as gifts from America? Consumer goods are important. We have plenty; the Soviets few. Let's give them some. It will make for good will and, perhaps, it will help peace in the future—more certainly than loans, which cannot be repaid, leave a sour taste, and strengthen the Soviets militarily. □

interest and talent. "With the Armed Forces, the KGB, and Agitprop, we'll be doing what we've done best since Lenin," said one Party member. "Good Party members generally find commerce a little boring. It's just not our glass of tea."

For the rest of the Russian enterprises, KKR promised buyers, merger partners, or independent activities financed by bond issues in the West. Surveys showed that Eastern Europe could be spun off as separate countries. Bond issues to finance their independent operations were expected to find an eager market among their ethnic diaspora whose prosperity in emigration or exile had given them surplus investment capital. A large portion of Polish bonds were already subscribed to by Banco Ambrosiano, leading observers to speculate about a future Vatican tender, while Bulgaria was believed to be the target of active bidding by an unidentified party. (Sources who would not be attributed claimed the unidentified parties were connected with the American Mafia.) China made a bid for Outer Mongolia, which was rejected by management as a hostile takeover.

At the present state of negotiations, the following mergers or acquisitions are anticipated:

Agriculture: The Russian poultry industry will be bought out by Frank Perdue. The cattle industry will merge with King Ranch of Texas, which will be granted an option on Siberia.

Marketing: Food marketing will be run on franchises granted by the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company. The food retailer's president, James Wood, said that A&P would soon be running geographically true to its name.

Heavy Industry: Chrysler, led by Lee Iacocca, will merge with Soviet automobile and steel producers. Mr. Iacocca will be given stock options convertible to one hundred miles of Crimean waterfront properties after the first billion dollars of profit.

Media: Pravda will be bought out for cash by the *New York Times.* In a statement today, the *Times* confirmed this cash offer and pledged to give all profits to the Fresh Air Fund. It also proclaimed it would exert no control over editorial content.

Goodwill: In a highly unusual move, USSR Goodwill was purchased for $50 billion by Kissinger Associates. When questioned about this, Dr. Kissinger responded, "I wouldn't exactly call it goodwill. We're just placing a dollar figure on the amount that nations would pay for having the Soviets stop doing what they never should have been doing in the first place. For example, Israel is probably good for $10 billion if the Soviets stop arming Syria, the Central American democracies would be happy to borrow that kind of money from the U.S. to stop mischief there. I don't want to sound immodest but it could win me a second Nobel Peace Prize, this time for the real thing."

The only discordant note came from the New York federal prosecutor's office, which was running down a significant lead that Drexel Burnham Lambert had, on the basis of inside information provided by a dissident typist, accumulated millions of dollars of Czarist bonds at seven cents on the dollar. Spokesmen for DBL admitted to large purchases of the Czarist bonds, but claimed they were only acquired as part of a promotion to publicize the hazards involved in purchases of AAA-rated and government-backed bonds.

—M. Donald Coleman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAYOR!

Herbert London

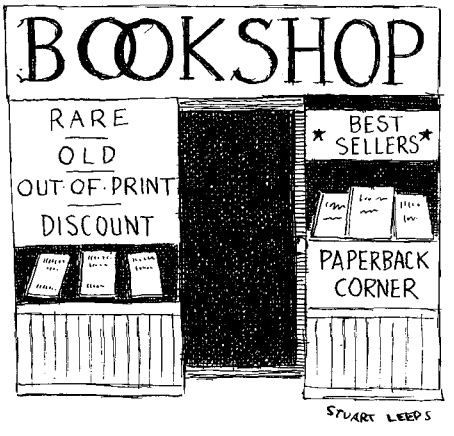
City for Sale: Ed Koch and the Betrayal of New York, by Jack Newfield and Wayne Barrett (Harper & Row, 466 pp., $22.50)

CORRUPTION IN New York municipal politics is an old story. At the turn of the century, George Washingon Plunkitt offered his statement of a typical Manhattan politician's philosophy of government: "I saw my opportunities and I took 'em." A few decades earlier, William Marcy "Boss" Tweed, the grandest of Tammany Hall's grand sachems, is thought to have "earned" between $75 million and $200 million (in 1871 dollars). When asked why it cost several hundred thousand dollars to supply the new City Hall with brooms, Tweed replied, "There's a lot to clean." Alas, that was very true.

What makes the city's present embattled mayor an unusual figure is that, unlike Tweed and Plunkitt, Edward Koch has built his career selling himself as New York's Mr. Clean, a man determined to sweep clubhouse politics out of city affairs. As City Council reformer, congressman, and now mayor, Koch has claimed again and again to be a new kind of Democrat, unsullied by patronage and corruption. The truth, as Jack Newfield and Wayne Barrett demonstrate in their passionate account of his 12 years in office, is that he has been used and manipulated to line the pockets of one Democratic boss after another—most notoriously Meade Esposito, party chairman in Brooklyn; Stanley Friedman, party chairman in the Bronx; and Donald Manes, borough president of Queens.

From 1977, the year he was first elected mayor, through the mid 1980s, the mayor's strategy was simply to dissociate himself from the corruption of his administration. Then Esposito was linked to Wedtech, and was revealed to have "appropriated" campaign funds for his personal use. Meanwhile, Friedman was convicted of siphoning millions of dollars from the city budget into a letterhead corporation, Citisource, in which he and Manes owned a majority of stock. Before Manes could be convicted himself, he committed suicide. As it became clear that Ed Koch would no longer be able to stand aloof from the activities of these men, the mayor switched strategies and took to portraying himself as the scandal's primary victim, an innocent under siege by events beyond his control. "You know," he once told a public gathering, "it's easy to become overwhelmed by the corruption of others and the feelings of betrayal. It's easy to start feeling sorry for yourself, and I try not to. But occasionally . . . I start saying to myself, 'Geez, what did I do to deserve this?' "

Yet it was Ed Koch who appointed Esposito cronies to key positions in city government even though more qualified candidates were readily available; Ed Koch who granted Meade Esposito the access to City Hall he needed to put his schemes into action; and Ed Koch who gave Stanley Friedman and Donald Manes his blessing to promote Citisource's contract with New York for millions of dollars' worth of hand-held computers that they knew, and everyone else in the administration suspected, the city would never see.



Perhaps the most damaging testimony in *City for Sale* comes from David Brown, an aide to Congressman Koch and Mayor Koch's first deputy mayor. Brown says Koch "is wrong to imply that no one could have figured out that the political conditions developing in New York City over the past eight years were likely to promote the kind of corruption that is now finally being uncovered." What Brown and many others see in Koch is a former reform councilman and representative now worried about retaining his political power, and eager to mend fences with the party regulars he might have offended

Aram Bakshian Jr. is a Washington-based author and broadcaster.

Fred Chappell's most recent collection of poems, First and Last Words, *was published in February by LSU.*

Herbert London, dean of New York University's Gallatin Division, is a candidate for mayor of New York currently seeking the Republican and Conservative Party nominations.

Forrest McDonald teaches history at the University of Alabama.

Ed Rubenstein, a New York-based economic consultant, reports on economic matters for NR.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on his way up. It is no coincidence that the core of the administration's legion of shame—including commissioner of transportation Anthony Ameruso, taxi boss Jay Turoff, city property-leasing agent Alex Lieberman, and commissioner of parking violations Lester Shafran—came to the Koch administration primarily as holdovers from the Beame administration, their job applications actively promoted by the party bosses. If the bosses needed any proof of Koch's willingness to cooperate, they got it.

Indeed, during the Koch years, who you know has been far more important than what you can do. Even Donald Manes's next-door neighbor, a plumber, got a piece of the action, receiving a $20-million city contract despite the fact that at the time he had been charged, in a federal racketeering case, with laundering narcotics profits for a local crime family.

Newfield and Barrett have performed a valuable service in documenting the municipal corruption for the past 12 years, but their indignation is highly selective. Indeed, *City for Sale* may well be the long-awaited fourth installment in the *Star Wars* series, in which the five boroughs are the setting for an epic struggle between an evil Empire—led by Koch, Esposito, Manes, and Friedman—and a virtuous Rebellion—led by Rudolph Giuliani and Mario Cuomo.

Unfortunately, the major figures in New York politics fail to divide along so neat a moral axis. The authors report that the party bosses were uncomfortable with Mario Cuomo during his 1977 bid for the mayoralty. Yet the stoic governor emerged from the same Queens Democratic Party that produced Geraldine Ferraro, John Zaccaro, and Donald Manes. How likely is it that a man could have become a leader in the Democratic organization in Queens without playing ball with the party regulars?

As for Rudolph Giuliani, the former U.S. Attorney for southern New York —well, in the authors' minds, he has already been anointed successor to Ed Koch. His public statements, they say, are "devastating"; his tenacity "legendary"; his work-ethic "unrelenting." According to the authors, if Mr. Giuliani has made any mistake at all in his career so far, it was his decision to change party affiliation and become a Republican. Yet there

STEVE JANGER, like many American college students, took a year of his studies abroad to experience other cultures first hand. By the time he returned home to Oklahoma, Steve had developed a new understanding of the role personal experience plays in the learning process.

Today, Steve Janger is president of the Close Up Foundation, which brings over 27,000 students and teachers to Washington, D.C. each year for face-to-face meetings with national leaders. When it comes to learning, Steve still holds his belief in the importance of personal experience. How else can he explain the new looks of understanding on thousands of young faces after they encounter the process of government first-hand and realize that they can make a difference?

C-SPAN, the cable television industry's public affairs channel, shares Steve Janger's belief that all students and educators should have direct experience with the affairs of government. The fact is, we deliver direct experience every day. That's why we started the "C-SPAN in the Classroom" program to encourage teachers to use our public affairs telecasts.

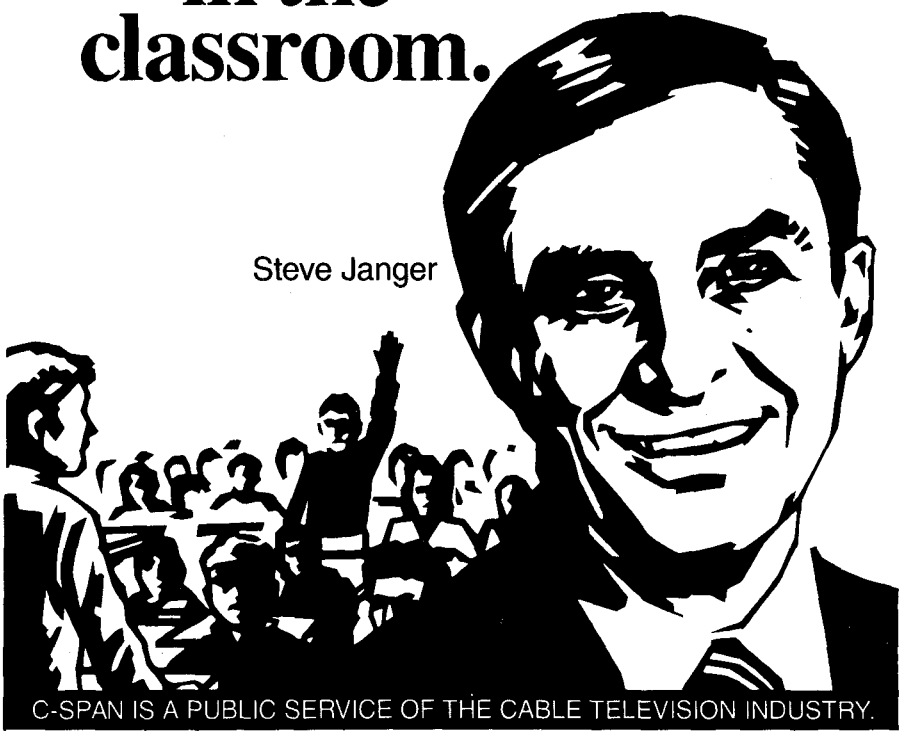
It's our hope that high school teachers and college professors will join in our 10th Anniversary celebration by including C-SPAN programming as part of their regular curriculum. When a student sees the United States Congress live in a classroom, everyone wins.

C-SPAN
Tenth Anniversary
1979-1989

For more information about C-SPAN, call (202) 737-3220.

For daily field trips to Washington...

It's C-SPAN in the classroom.



C-SPAN IS A PUBLIC SERVICE OF THE CABLE TELEVISION INDUSTRY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RANDOM NOTES

☐ More March Titles: Moving down the ladder of the Nazi command, David Irving, author of *Hitler's War*, has chosen for the subject of his new book the chief of Hitler's Luftwaffe. *Göring: A Biography* (Morrow, $22.95) is the trailbreaking account of the complex life and convoluted career of the morphine-addicted monster who, as Irving demonstrates clearly, was, in his gruesome way, also a man of parts. . . . *Molehunt: Search for Soviet Spies in MI-5* (Morrow, $19.95), by Nigel West, is an exceptionally interesting account (though by no means light reading) of the tremendous anti-spy effort, carried out over a number of years, that resulted directly from the defections of Burgess, Philby, and Maclean and produced as its most spectacular findings inconclusive evidence that Sir Roger Hollis, who served as director of the British intelligence service MI-5 from 1956 to 1965, was an agent of Moscow. (West believes that Sir Roger was probably innocent, while his deputy, Graham Mitchell, was very likely not.)

In *Reforming Education: The Opening of the American Mind* (Macmillan, $19.95), a collection of essays edited by Geraldine Van Doren, Mortimer J. Adler takes strong issue with Allan Bloom's surprise best-seller, *The Closing of the American Mind*, arguing that the locus of America's educational problems is not to be found in its colleges but rather in its conception of the nature of a basic education.

If you like the fiction of Mr. John Updike and are sympathetic with its milieu, you will probably enjoy, and even be charmed by, *Self-Consciousness: Memoirs* (Knopf, $18.95), by John Updike. If not, then not.

☐ Now Available: *Manqué* (Sacré Bleu Press, P.O. Box 8, Sharon, Connecticut 06069; $15), by the late John W. Buckley and with illustrations by the author, is perhaps the only entirely candid work ever to flow from the pen of an accomplished (but at times unfortunate) hunter and fisherman; it is also one of the few genuinely funny ones to do so. (Mr. Buckley's humor is right up there with that of the great Peter Hathaway Capstick, although his own has the arch languor and backhandedness of a perfectly cast fly-line.) For anyone who has ever suffered the humiliation of being asked the casual question, "Did you get your deer this year . . . ?", Mr. Buckley's fine book is absolutely comforting. —CW

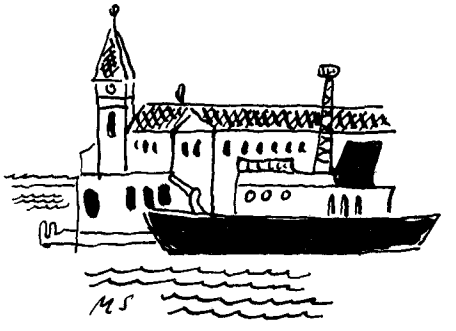
---

is much to say about Mr. Giuliani's creativity as a law-enforcement official that goes unsaid in this book—in particular about his use of the RICO law to club Wall Street arbitrageurs into submission without bringing them to trial, as well as of certain other "evolving laws" (Giuliani's words) to charge city officials with crimes to which those laws were not originally meant to apply.

The thorough-going Manicheanism of the authors' world view is not, however, their only failing. Looking at the state of New York City politics in the late 1980s, Newfield and Barrett see only a blur of anonymous, corrupt officials feeding at a nonpartisan public trough. They ask us to believe the real problem is merely one of malfeasance. It doesn't seem to have occurred to them that a one-party monopoly in a city like New York *inevitably* promotes corruption.

To be fair, though, the situation can't be blamed entirely on the city's Democrats, since its Republicans have shown little inclination to improve matters. The citizens of New York have a great deal to rebel against, including arcane environmental and zoning laws, rent control, complicated construction codes, high taxes, and restrictive licensing procedures. If Republicans weren't complicitous in all this, routinely selling out for patronage crumbs and allowing key Democrats to run uncontested, they might lead a real rebellion and wrest control of the city from the Democratic bosses. But of course they *are* complicitous, and it speaks volumes about the present state of the Republican Party in New York that its leading candidate for the mayoralty is Rudolph Giuliani.

Still, if four years of Rudolph Giuliani would be problematical, another four of Ed Koch would probably—*probably*—be worse. Despite its considerable flaws and unconcealed ideological bias, the case Newfield and Barrett make against Koch, whom one city official once dubbed the Teflon mayor, is persuasive enough. ☐



DANGERS ALL AROUND

Ed Rubenstein

The Coming Soviet Crash: Gorbachev's Desperate Pursuit of Credit in Western Financial Markets, by Judy Shelton (Free Press, 246 pp., $22.50)

Anyone looking for a Soviet version of Paul Erdman's nailbiters will be disappointed with this book. For the "crash" of its title is more likely to be only the continuation of the slow economic slide that has been under way in the Soviet Union since the mid 1970s, replete with suppressed inflation and massive budget deficits.

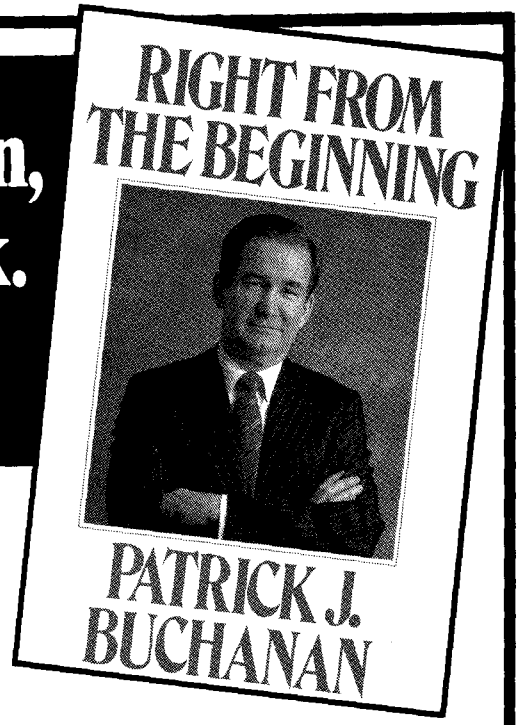
In the highly original first section of her book, Mrs. Shelton dissects the 1985 Soviet budget, uncovering a gap of more than 112 billion rubles ($180 billion) between total reported revenue and identifiable revenue sources. The unexplained gap (amounting to 30 per cent of total revenue) turns out to have been accounted for by paper credits granted by the state bank to unprofitable firms, funds that those firms were obliged to remit back to the budget. In effect, the Soviet government has for years maintained the fiction of a budget surplus by borrowing from itself and calling those borrowings revenues, a procedure Americans may find reminiscent of some of our own government's accounting practices.

Why the statistical chicanery? It's likely that the rosy budget scenario is promoted largely by "conservative," anti-Gorbachev Party members, on the grounds that "if it ain't broke . . ." But on October 27, 1988, the Soviet finance minister publicly acknowledged a $58-billion deficit, and in January the nation's leading economist, Leonid Abalkin, reported that the real deficit was more like $160 billion, or about 12 per cent of GNP.

While we may debate whether or not our deficit matters, there is no doubt that the Soviet Union's does. Shortages, inflation, an uncontrolled black market, social divisiveness, and a general lack of ambition in a society where income cannot be readily translated into goods can all be direct

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If you like Pat Buchanan, you'll love his new book. Enjoy it — FREE



Pat Buchanan grew up in strange times. Mothers stayed home to raise the children, and no Phil Donahue putting sick ideas into their heads. Big Government meant the feds were spending $35 billion. Even the liberals wanted a strong America.

So if some of Buchanan's NEW ideas startle you, this book shows you where they came from....

- Why "democracy is not enough." The crucial importance Pat places on Judeo-Christian values in the reform of our nation
- The private Nixon. How he and Reagan differ. Fascinating glimpses into each man's personality
- The old Catholic ways: Pat thrives under the Jesuits, the discipline of the Church, the life of his parish. (A poignant chapter for Catholics as Pat recalls the Old Church, with love)
- Ten constitutional amendments Pat's ideal president would propose
- What they don't tell you about Senator Joe McCarthy
- Prediction: one liberal-conservative battle to come
- "Containment Is Not Enough." Why we've got to win. The Buchanan victory plan

Some pages bring you back to — dare we say it? — better days. Other pages might just burn your fingers. But that's Pat Buchanan.

"Pat Buchanan is perhaps the most brilliant and influential conservative writing in America today." —Richard Nixon

"To know what the conservatives are thinking you have to read Pat Buchanan." —George Bush

"A graceful and affecting tribute to the people, places, and institutions that molded him.... Vivid, resonant." —*Kirkus Reviews*

"My old friend from the Nixon White House days has written a crackerjack book with humor, wit, poignancy and, perhaps, prophecy." —William Safire

"Buchanan is the pit bull of the American Right." —George F. Will

Extra FREE Gift — the $29.95 *Dictionary of American Conservatism*

Over 1,500 short articles by Louis Filler on men, ideas, events. "Full of fascinating and useful material." —Wm. F. Buckley Jr. "Monumental." —Barry Goldwater. 382 oversized pages.

How to get the Buchanan book PLUS *Dictionary of American Conservatism* — both FREE

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing; it will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books are offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 3 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-90% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

15 Oakland Avenue • Harrison, N.Y. 10528

Please accept my membership in the Club and send my FREE copy of Patrick J. Buchanan's new $18.95 memoir, *Right from the Beginning*. Also send FREE the $29.95 *Dictionary of American Conservatism* by Louis Filler. I agree to buy 3 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 18 months. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in the coupon.

NR-166

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly related to the Soviet deficit. And because the Soviet monetary system is a closed one (the ruble not being freely convertible into other currencies), foreign investors are not interested in purchasing the Soviet equivalent of our Treasury bonds; the entire deficit burden is borne internally.

Perestroika's success will depend on whether or not this deficit can be reined in. On the expenditure side, Gorbachev plans a sharp reduction in consumer subsidies (prices, some of which have not been changed since 1954, will rise), a decline in wages relative to the value of output, and the reassignment of as many as half of the country's 18 million bureaucrats to lower-paying jobs. Starting in 1991, unprofitable firms will no longer be automatically bailed out with state credits. Western-style bankruptcies and unemployment will be possible.

The chances of all this working out, marginal at best, will be virtually nil without massive infusions of Western capital and technology, and in this regard the last section of Mrs. Shelton's book sounds a cautionary note. Western observers should keep in mind that Gorbachev has decided to extract the budget savings he needs from consumption, not from fixed investment or defense spending. Western credit, even if tied to the purchase of consumer goods, frees up rubles for defense-related investment. From this perspective, the diplomatic breakthroughs on arms control and human rights are but means to a very different end:

> Gorbachev, keeping to a plan to tap all possible sources of Western financial assistance, is eager to exploit the current frame of mind . . . He knows that the United States derives a measure of imperialistic glee from the prospect of exhorting the Soviet Union to do its bidding in exchange for financial and economic rewards . . . So long as Westerners tend to underestimate how much financial incentive the Soviet Union has to seek accommodation, Gorbachev is prepared to tolerate a limited amount of meddling by American politicians on certain highly visible issues. But he fully intends to see that the Americans pay up for getting involved.

Washington has yet to commit itself one way or another on the question of Soviet financing. Meanwhile, in just the first two years of Gorbachev's tenure, total Soviet borrowing from Western commercial banks rose from $11 billion to $26 billion, and at the end of June 1987, Soviet-bloc nations owed a total of $96 billion to Western banks and governments—more than Mexico, Brazil, or Argentina. Equity positions are also possible: a Soviet law passed in early 1987 allows the formation of joint ventures between foreign and Soviet firms, with the foreign share limited to 49 per cent. By October of that year, the Soviets claim, they had received 250 proposals, including responses from PepsiCo, Combustion Engineering, Occidental Petroleum, Monsanto, and McDonald's.

The real danger, cogently addressed in this book, is that these bankers and businessmen will, by default, acquire the power to make crucial national-security decisions for the rest of us. □

LEARNING TO LOVE THE BOMB

Forrest McDonald

Danger and Survival: Choices about the Bomb in the First Fifty Years, by McGeorge Bundy (Random House, 735 pp., $24.95)

McGeorge Bundy set a formidable task for himself: not only to review the history of the Bomb since the discovery of fission fifty years ago, but also to subject every decision, confrontation, and argument regarding it to a thorough critical analysis. He very nearly exhausts the subject, and he decidedly exhausted this reader, for the minutiae involved are staggering.

The tedium is compounded by the author's penchant for speculating endlessly about alternative policies that were suggested by someone but not adopted and about others that were never even considered. Among the more inane of the former was the proposal that instead of using the A-bomb against Japan we might have dropped one in the American desert, to be witnessed by neutral observers who would then hasten to the Japanese and persuade them to call off the war. With the latter we are most heavily laden in the chapter on the Cuban Missile Crisis, in which Bundy was of course a participant. After a crisp and excellent 17-page survey of the events in that episode, the prolix prof lays upon us another 55 pages of speculative analysis addressed to such questions as "Was There a Better Course?"

For all the excess of detail, however, Bundy's thesis is clear and compelling. It is that, despite some early flirtations with the idea that the Bomb was to be regarded as just another weapon, no responsible statesman has seriously considered using it since 1963, and probably none has since 1954. This "tradition of non-use" will persist as long as the United States and the Soviet Union retain "survivable second-strike forces." Because of the "nuclear stalemate," the Bomb has been and probably will continue to be an insurmountable deterrent to war between major powers.

Bundy is neither a Pollyanna nor a dove. He sees continuing dangers of many sorts and argues vigorously for the retention of a strong conventional American presence in Europe as well as a continual updating of our nuclear arsenal. But he is a liberal, which fact leads him to lash out at those who argue that the United States needs a stronger arsenal of missiles and warheads than the Soviets, and at those who wrote in the late 1970s and early 1980s about a "window of vulnerability" opened by the Soviets' newly attained strategic superiority. Anything resembling parity is adequate, he insists, so long as sufficient second-strike capacity is preserved.

His argument is persuasive, as far as it goes; but there are two dimensions to the problem, the economic and the ideological, that he leaves out of his reckoning, with the result that he completely fails to grasp what has happened during the 1980s. He can scarcely be faulted for not knowing that a principal reason for Khrushchev's gamble on placing missiles in Cuba was economic: it has only recently been revealed that Mr. K., thinking the Soviet economy overstrained, undertook the Cuban venture as a cheap way of gaining strategic nuclear parity. But only once does Bundy deal with economics at all, and then he appears not to understand the vital significance of what he is saying. In an almost throwaway paragraph, he tells us that the Soviets spent $500 billion in ineffectual efforts to erect a viable defense against American bombers that cost about $50 billion. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concept involved is what Paul Nitze has called "cost-effectiveness at the margin," which means that the point is to adopt weapons systems and strategies that cost the other fellow many times more to counter.

It is against this backdrop that Ronald Reagan's strategy must be considered if it is to be understood. Bundy, however, grows semi-hysterical over the "national disgrace" and "scandal" of Reagan's and Weinberger's "fearful official propaganda" about windows of opportunity and Star Wars. But if one sincerely believes, as Ronald Reagan does, that the American way is both good and inherently strong and that the Soviet way is both oppressive and inherently weak, the idea of cost-effectiveness at the margin represents a grand chance for anyone who has the imagination to recognize it and the boldness to carry it through. That is what the defense buildup was all about, and what SDI was all about: it is not that the one was necessary and the other necessarily realistic, it is that together they required the Soviets to adopt countermeasures that quickly brought them to the brink of bankruptcy. The arms race *à la* Reagan struck the death blow to Communism as an economic system.

Bundy and others of his ilk, being unwilling to credit Reagan with much of anything, refuse to recognize the President's monumental achievement. They might even deny that he intended things that way. But I give you the *New York Times* in its endorsement of Jimmy Carter in 1980: "What concerns us about Ronald Reagan" is that he "seems genuinely to believe that the vain pursuit of arms superiority will bring the Russians begging to the bargaining table." In the end, he did bring them there—and to *glasnost* and *perestroika*, too. □

LOST GENERATION

Joseph Sobran

Destructive Generation: Second Thoughts about the Sixties, by Peter Collier and David Horowitz (Summit, 337 pp., $19.95)

YEARS AGO, I suggested over an idle cocktail that when the New Left grew up, it would produce its own

Chamberses and Burnhams, eloquent converts. Bill Buckley, usually indulgent toward kids, shook his head vehemently. He didn't think this generation was as intelligent or serious as the Old Left had been.

Time has proved him right about that, but I wasn't completely wrong. Peter Collier and David Horowitz, former editors of the New Left magazine *Ramparts*, are all I could have hoped for, even if there aren't many like them. Somehow they said goodbye to all that simultaneously and found themselves voting for Ronald Reagan. Their partnership has continued through the change.

Destructive Generation is a collection of articles they have written since their conversion. If there is such a thing as must reading about the New Left, this is it. Collier and Horowitz know the scene from the inside, and they write about it with intelligence, gossipy intimacy, and a sort of savage introspection. There's not a trace of sentimentality about the Left's "idealism," which they correctly interpret as malicious fantasizing.

The first three chapters are narratives of the Sixties. One concerns Fay Stender, lawyer to the Black Panther set in Berkeley, who threw herself into her causes with such passion that she would contrive sexual couplings with her clients when she visited them in prison. When she began to sense that they were just thugs, not revolutionaries, she drew back from them; they decided she must be informing on them (she wasn't) and sent one of their pals to kill her in her home. For a drama whose moral doesn't need spelling out, this one is hard to beat.

Another is a long history of the Weather Underground, starring the movement's *femme fatale*, Bernardine Dohrn, and the men she manipulated. This one manages to convey both the deadly excitement of the time and the unconscious comedy of the New Left's internal status system.

The middle section of the book discusses the New Left's legacy in a fiery polemical style. It explains why men like Tom Hayden and Ron Dellums have never grown up:

> For leftists, there are only tomorrows. They never talk about the evil they have done, except superficially, to imply (as Hayden does) that it has increased their moral sensitivity. But they are always anxious to discuss the utopia to come. The future perfect is the only tense in their political grammar. Thus they are willing to criticize every revolution but the one currently unfolding—the one in which there is still a choice. Their opponents' misdeeds must never be forgotten, but their own can never really be recalled. While Central America is alleged by leftists to be "another Vietnam," Nicaragua is never another Cuba.

There are also exposés of crude hypocrisy. Hayden, for instance, is given to lachrymose public recollections of his grief at the assassination of Robert Kennedy, whom at the time he'd been privately reviling as "a little fascist." And there's an especially sharp discussion of the way the New Left came to terms with the Old Left, in spite of all its disclaimers of pro-Soviet allegiance. The political thought of Noam Chomsky is a notable casualty of the Collier-Horowitz analysis.

In separate chapters toward the end, the authors discuss their own personal backgrounds. Collier was the son of poor Republicans, and came to radical politics in college. Horowitz was to the manner born: his father was a dedicated Communist whose love for the Party was unrequited. It's a dismally pathetic story. When the old man died a few years ago, none of his Stalinist friends could work up any genuine sentiment for him: they eulogized him in the stale phrases of an abstract ideology ("tried to make the world a better place . . . socially conscious"). A long life had been lived without real affection for the country, the neighborhood; utterly alienated, utterly wasted.

Horowitz tells this appalling story in a voice of savage introspection. He rejected his father's Communism early, but he had his own near miss: he too

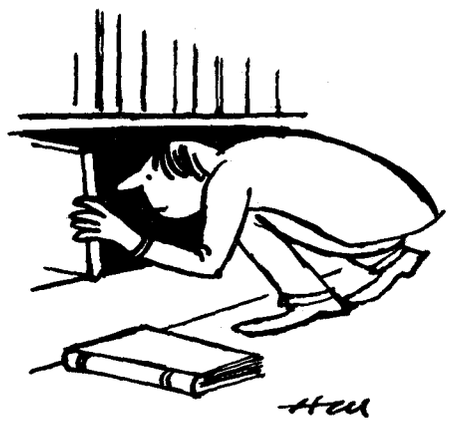
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tried to live in fealty to "the Progressive Idea," until the fate of Vietnam and Cambodia opened his eyes to what he and his generation had done. He found almost no remorse among his colleagues: the New Left turned out to have been just as irresponsibly dogmatic as the Old.

"You and I and our parents were totalitarians in democratic America," he tells an old friend. "The democratic *fact* of America prevented us from committing the atrocities willed by our faith. Impotence was our only innocence." The Left's rhetoric of "compassion" and "humanity" masks its real motives, "nihilism and hate."

Collier and Horowitz consider themselves conservatives now, but they find it hard to feel close to other conservatives, simply because they arrived at their destination by such a peculiar route. They seem to have been almost alone in intending New Left cant seriously and in being willing to test it against reality. For most, it was just a set of attitudes that have now settled into the political culture, especially the Democratic Party, which has pretty much adopted the Chomsky view of American diabolism.

Naturally, the authors' old friends regard them as a pair of traitors, and this book leaves no bridge unburned. Nobody who wasn't a part of that radical scene could be quite as merciless. But there are traces of nostalgia and humor, here and there, as in a chapter on the decline of Berkeley. The leftist-ridden city council there once set aside a special park where dogs could run unleashed, in the utopian hope that the better side of canine nature, previously repressed by the System, might be liberated. But the dogs, disappointingly, arranged themselves into hierarchical packs. "Not only have we failed to create the New Man in Berkeley," an ex-radical admits ruefully. "We haven't even created the New Dog." □



MORE PARTS THAN WHOLE

Aram Bakshian

The Satanic Verses, by Salman Rushdie (Viking, 547 pp., $19.95)

LIKE JOYCE'S *Ulysses*, Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* is probably destined to be one of the least-read best-sellers of all time. Its main claim to fame is the violent exception that Muslims of the yahoo variety have taken to seventy of its 547 pages. In a thinly disguised parody of the life of the Prophet Mohammed, Mr. Rushdie implies what many critics have long suspected: that the Prophet's message was a little too worldly, and too subject to opportunistic policy adjustments, to have been divinely inspired. The mere suggestion has enraged some of the faithful, and led to book-burnings in England, bloody attacks on U.S. information centers overseas, and the Ayatollah Khomeini's generous offer of $1 million to whatever godly gunsel manages to rub out Mr. Rushdie.

All of which makes both too much and too little of an impressive but uneven book by a major but erratic talent. Both the fascination and the principal flaw of *The Satanic Verses* are unwittingly summed up by its central character toward the end of this dazzling transcultural tour de force:

> O, the dissociations of which the human mind is capable, marveled Saladin gloomily. O, the conflicting selves jostling within these bags of skin. No wonder we are unable to remain focused on anything for very long; no wonder we invent remote-control channel-hopping devices. If we turned these instruments upon ourselves we'd discover more channels than a cable or satellite mogul ever dreamed of . . .

Indian-born and alien-evolved, Mr. Rushdie has a magic ear for acculturated English, the only modern language to rival Latin in the number of metamorphoses it has undergone in the course of natural evolution, conquest, and grafting. Contemporary English—like Mr. Rushdie and many other "cosmopolitan" Indians, Africans, North Americans, and Caribbeans—has been both the victim and the beneficiary of a cultural greenhouse effect. The language has emerged stronger and richer than ever; the people, always scarred, have had a harder time adjusting.

Even more than most other modern men and women, inhabitants of the acculturated English milieu consist of too many parts, too many "conflicting selves," to form a coherent whole. Politically speaking, they suffer from a kind of post-colonial depression, a condition, in its symptoms, not very different from post-coital depression, only longer lasting.

In earlier novels, Mr. Rushdie grappled with his conflicting emotions in brilliant allegories set in India and Pakistan, the severed parts of his native subcontinent. Now he has attempted an even more ambitious undertaking: a single work in which personal, racial, political, and religious ambivalences clash in order to be reconciled. The clash comes off; the reconciliation, like most reconciliations, is more tenuous.

In writing *The Satanic Verses*, Mr. Rushdie has said, he "tried to make a melange or hybridization of the different cultures from which I myself come —a novel drawing together the various component parts of myself." The problem is that the parts of the novel, if not of Mr. Rushdie, have trouble sticking together. There are at least four tiers to his story: a contemporary quest for personal definition set in London and Bombay; an imam-versus-monarch struggle with Iranian overtones; a mock, and mocking, reconstruction of the Prophet Mohammed's founding of Islam; and a fantastic tale of modern-day visions and a pilgrimage that begins in a Muslim village in northern India and literally drowns, en route to Mecca, in an Arabian Sea of sweetly sorrowful partings.

Like Mr. Rushdie's pilgrims, many readers may be lost in mid journey, impressed but despairing. Mr. Rushdie is both a serious novelist and a verbal virtuoso. Too often, his virtuosity gets in the way of his art. Yet, whenever he seems about to take himself too seriously, Salman Rushdie is rescued by his healthy sense of the absurd. His anger is usually subordinated to his critical sensibilities. Even when

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lashing out in the most conventional way at Thatcherite Britain he manages to leave us with a few truths open to positive as well as negative interpretation, as in one character's tribute/tirade on the subject of the Iron Lady's new order:

> "She's radical all right. What she wants —what she actually thinks she can f------ *achieve*—is literally to invent a whole goddamn new middle class in this country. Get rid of the old woolly incompetent buggers from f------ Surrey and Hampshire, and bring in the new. People without background, without history. Hungry people. People who really *want*, and who know that with her, they can bloody well *get*. Nobody's ever tried to replace a whole f------ *class* before, and the amazing thing is she might just do it if they don't get her first. The old class. The dead men . . . The intellectuals, too. Out with the whole faggoty crew. In with the hungry guys with the wrong education. New professors, new painters, the lot. It's a bloody revolution.

In passages like these, Mr. Rushdie clings to the truth in a rough but tenacious way that separates his writing from the multihued vaporings of so-called "magical realists" like Gabriel García Márquez, with whom he has often been compared. Under all the pyrotechnics, Salman Rushdie understands people; he can describe men as well as magic. He demonstrates his grip on genuine human feelings and relationships with particular skill in a moment of reconciliation between a rebel son and his once dominant, but now dying, father:

> Cancer had stripped Changez Chamchawala literally to the bone; his cheeks had collapsed into the hollows of the skull, and he had to place a foam-rubber pillow under his buttocks because of the atrophying of his flesh. But it had also stripped him of his faults, of all that had been domineering, tyrannical, and cruel in him, so that the mischievous, loving, and brilliant man beneath lay exposed, once again, for all to see. *If only he could have been this person all of his life*, Saladin . . . found himself wishing. How hard it was to find one's father just when one had no choice but to say good-bye.

One hopes that Mr. Rushdie, still in his early forties, will survive both his sudden notoriety and the ayatollah's threats, and that he will in the future manage to strip away some of the glib superfluities of his present style, and give us more of what in his writing is undeniably great. □

AMERICAN GOTHIC

Fred Chappell

Born Brothers, by Larry Woiwode (Farrar, Straus, 612 pp., $18.95)

BORN BROTHERS, Larry Woiwode's second novel about the Neumiller family, taken together with its 1975 companion, *Beyond the Bedroom Wall*, brings the number of densely packed pages devoted to this story to a total of 1,231. If there is to be a third volume—and I expect that one is coming—the Neumiller saga will weigh in at about the same tonnage as *War and Peace*.

And though Woiwode's ambitions

The Scene: A college campus, a party in full swing.
The Sound: The latest, a rap music routine.
The Lyrics: Aristotle's *Categories*, Chapter I.

Yes, you read it right. *Aristotle.*

This college audience finds the contrast hilarious. The routine over, dancing begins. Waltzes, polkas, the Virginia reel. Later, the tape plays Glenn Miller. Spirits are high, the dance floor is full.

There's nothing stuffy about this party, but there is nothing like it at State U or Ivy Towers College either. It's. . .civilized.

What kind of place is this?

Classes are like conversations. They often start with a question. The students do most of the talking. But you'll rarely hear such orderly, reasonable talk. Rational discourse. The pursuit of truth. Civilization.

The curriculum is rich with classics of philosophy and Catholic theology, mathematics and science — all required. Theoretical studies but eminently practical. And the graduates go on to careers in law and medicine, business and politics.

Classes are small. The faculty know the students personally and often invite them to their homes. But in class everyone uses formal terms of address and the College choir sings Palestrina at Mass.

This is Thomas Aquinas College, where the intellect and heart live in harmony. Here the highest studies are at peace with the highest standards. And both are strengthened. Come and see for yourself.

For information or to arrange a visit, CALL TOLL FREE: 1-800-634-9797. From Canada, call collect: (805) 525-4417.

Or write: Thomas J. Susanka
Director of Admissions
Box 105
THOMAS AQUINAS COLLEGE
10000 North Ojai Road
Santa Paula, CA 93060

Financial aid program
Bachelor of Arts degree • Coeducational
Fully accredited, Western Association of Schools & Colleges

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are less spectacular than Tolstoy's, I do not believe he regards them as much less serious. He seems to wish to portray the Neumiller family as a single, broad psychic entity, with the unstable Charles as its customary speaker, and to show the effects of Midwestern American history and culture upon this family psyche. Here is a large undertaking and a thoughtful one; it is not yet possible to say how successful it will be.

We may, however, reasonably judge that *Born Brothers* is in important respects less successful than its predecessor. From page to page, the new novel is as solid and pungent as a lumber yard; every character is firmly limned, every vignette makes its point, every detail is skillfully observed. But the overall design is confusing, and the aftertaste of *Born Brothers* is sour and disappointing.

The first Neumiller in America, Otto, came to North Dakota from Germany in 1881, made a respectable fortune in farming, lost money in the 1930s but remained solvent. It is perhaps symptomatic of the darkness of Woiwode's intentions that the most powerful scenes he has written are at the beginning of *Beyond the Bedroom Wall*, in which Otto's son, the elder Charles, builds a coffin and buries his father in unconsecrated farmland. After the strength, confidence, and serenity of these pages, the narrative descends at once into ambiguity and confusion, dissolving its atmosphere of legend and turning grittily naturalistic. The effect for the reader is rather like beginning a work by Hawthorne, which then is transformed into Dreiser, and ends up sounding like Norman Mailer or some other specialist in Contemporary Drab.

The Neumillers make their American debut in a Golden Age of strength, opportunity, dignity, and certitude. Edging into the mainstream of American society, however, they lose purpose and resolve. The present Charles, grandson of the coffinmaker, is not an easy character to understand or sympathize with.

A drug-and-alcohol-abusing former television personality, Charles has abandoned career and family, holing up in a squalid Chicago apartment house where he can drink and ruminate about his past. The reader may, with patience and ingenuity, learn that Charles's childhood and youth were difficult. Woiwode, however, makes only the murkiest connection between Charles's past life and his present disintegration. *Beyond the Bedroom Wall* tells us Charles is a borderline psychotic obsessed with suicide, but *Born Brothers* is less helpful. Charles is exhausted, in the accepted modern manner; he is also exhausting.

Indeed, through surfeit of sadness, the whole story moves toward exhaustion. In a family history there will occur births and birthdays, weddings and christenings, anniversaries and betrothals. This chronicle emphasizes deaths and funerals, which its author depicts in meticulous and shattering detail. As the older generations pass away, the story turns more garish, but at the same time it begins to sound hollow, like a shriek in a tenement airshaft.

Perhaps the trouble here is less a fault of Woiwode's design than of the quality of contemporary life. We must give the author credit for facing the problem, even as the hapless Charles attempts to do. "The plain details of each day, which are everybody's province, are the most important," he tells us, "since everybody must contend with them. When I think of how I've resisted learning from experience, I want to hide in a corner of the granary . . . and howl with the vow that I'll never again be that way; never drink, never lie, give pat answers, point out anybody's weaknesses, or fly apart like a ship torpedoed on its home run."

Fine words—but when his father, Martin, dies, Charles cannot control his drinking. Divorce and attempted suicide ensue, and the novel ends.

I am reluctant to think that Larry Woiwode will let the Neumiller saga end here. I believe that Charles will manage to possess the wisdom he will find as he continues to memorize the book of Ephesians. So far he has only reached verse 11 of the first chapter; in 2:13 he will come upon these words: "But now in Christ Jesus ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ." Whatever his faults and failures, Charles is the kind of person to whom such a sentence will have grand meaning. □

FILM

ADDLED ADAPTATIONS

John Simon

As long as people lack original ideas for a movie, they will turn to adaptations. Short stories, novels, and especially plays are grist for the adapters' mills, which, unlike God's, grind fast and exceeding coarse. Theater, since the dawn of cinema, was considered the ideal source for photoplays, as moving pictures used to be called with *nouveau-riche* pretension. The prestigious thing for the movies was to capture some New York stage star in a hit vehicle for transfer to the screen; nowadays the traffic tends to be reversed, as Hollywood blockbusters are turned into Broadway musicals, and big- and small-screen stars are coaxed into offering themselves up live to their hungry fans.

Yet movie adaptations of plays have presented, from the beginning, pitfalls galore. Film is a restless medium, suffering from acute dromomania, and can stay put for any length of time only with great difficulty—or great directorial knowhow. Conversely, theater, though it too enjoys an outing or a change of scene, is perfectly content to tarry among the same three walls for an entire evening. Though in need of some action, theater dotes on talk; whereas nothing seems to make movies more nervous than public speaking. I could list further differences, but all this is well-known to everyone except the unfortunates who keep making movies out of plays; even if their tribe does not increase like Abou Ben Adhem's, it will never go begging for bridge partners.

The usual solution, of course, is to "open up" the play: to fill in the scenes merely reported or mentioned in the stage version, or invent new ones out of whole cloth for the celluloid version. This tends to be risky: the rhythms, strategies, cohesion of the play are tampered with; it is at the very least as if a drawing in charcoal on paper were translated into one in chalk on a blackboard. Say something in the enclosed space of a stage box, where the viewer sees the entire cast of reacting characters all the time, or say it on screen in a closeup or two-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shot—or even in a long shot showing everyone present—and you always end up getting unbalancingly more or less than the play did.

As I write this, my eye catches an article in the *New York Times* about a debate in London's Merchant Taylors' Hall on adapting literature for the screen, won (if a show of hands counts) by those opposed. Most peculiar, however, was the novelist Salman Rushdie's contribution from the floor in favor of adaptations. It seems he failed in six attempts to get through *The Name of the Rose*, and was grateful to the movie for telling him how it all came out. I hope that Rushdie was being ironic; otherwise I must point out to him that the movie changes a key incident and that the novel isn't literature in the first place.

The classic case of trying to remain faithful to a play is Hitchcock's *Rope*, from Patrick Hamilton's stage thriller, where, after a scene on a park bench, the action stays within an apartment. But here, again, the play had scant literary merit, and the film adds little to it save technical bravura. The only instance of a film's improving on a play that comes readily to mind is Noel Coward's *Brief Encounter*; but the play was a one-acter that could use expansion, and Coward himself wrote the screenplay. Moreover, one seldom if ever sees the original play, *Still Life*, acted by the likes of the movie's Trevor Howard and Celia Johnson. Bruce Beresford's magnificent *Breaker Morant* is based on a play, to be sure, but I have neither seen nor read it; still, I expect it to be less good than the film. And though such exceptions may not prove the rule, they assuredly do not disprove it.

Two current film versions of plays are certainly not exceptional in any way; they are *Torch Song Trilogy*, directed by Paul Bogart, and *Talk Radio*, directed by Oliver Stone. Harvey Fierstein's largely autobiographical trio of one-acters, *Torch Song Trilogy*, chronicled the happy or unhappy relationships of Arnold Beckoff, a female impersonator, until, in the end, he adopts a young boy, makes peace with his mother, who accepts his way of life, and gets a former lover who thought he could make it married to a woman to come back to him instead. These were funny and moving plays nine or ten years ago, and Fierstein, with his terminally gravelly voice, deliquescent eyes, and rawboned gawkiness that could turn surprisingly slinky in drag, was his own ideal interpreter. The play must have seemed still too outrageous for Broadway when it got there by a long and circuitous route; yet it won over even the blue-haired ladies from New Jersey, who could be seen laughing, crying, and rooting for Arnold, whom they recognized as droll, extremely likable, and, finally, even wise.

In the years since then, AIDS has changed the situation drastically, making one of the funniest scenes unreusable. Fierstein himself has grown older and harder-looking—especially for the camera's pitiless eye. And the author/actor has become more of a star, letting himself perform his transvestite nightclub routines in the movie, whereas the play featured a real chanteuse singing the blues, thus extending the work's range to the heterosexual world. The additional material Fierstein has written (mostly stuff at the homosexual nightclub) doesn't add anything substantial, and the casting is off: Bruce Kerwin can't act, Matthew Broderick is miscast as a homosexual male model, and Anne Bancroft is beneath contempt as the Jewish mother to end—not all Jewish mothers, but any shred of respect we might still have had for her even more exaggerated, brashly unnuanced (or, more simply put, gross) carryings on.

Above all other problems, though, there is the medium itself. The second play, *Fugue in a Nursery*, is literally a fugue with a homosexual and an uneasy heterosexual pair of lovers interacting in an enclosed space, with fugal background music by Ada Janik. The film does not and cannot duplicate this, and is much the poorer for it. Missing, too, is the hilarious yet

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
"Beyond every horizon, there is something *different*"
—Nicola Paone
207 East 34th Street • New York
(212) 889-3239

Speak German like a Diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel,* that's who.

Now you can learn to speak German with the same materials used by the U.S. State Department—the Foreign Service Institute's *Programmed Introduction to German.*

The FSI spent thousands of dollars and many years developing these materials for use by members of the United States diplomatic corps. Today people in all walks of life who need to learn to speak a foreign language are turning to this outstanding audio program.

The FSI's German Course is by far *the most effective way* to learn German at your own convenience and pace. It consists of a series of cassettes, recorded by native German speakers, and accompanying textbook. You simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and learning. By the end of the course you'll find yourself learning and speaking entirely in German!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmed" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

AUDIO-FORUM
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE

This FSI Programmed Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I. Programmed Introduction to German,** 10 cassettes (13 hr.), and 647-p. text, $175.

☐ **Volume II. Basic Course Continued,** 8 cassettes, (8 hr.), and 179-p. text, $145.

(CT residents add sales tax.)

TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name and address, and a check or money order—or charge to your credit card (VISA, MasterCard, AmEx, Diners) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's German Course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn German, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

190 courses in 55 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 17th year.

Audio-Forum
Room C349
On-The-Green,
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

also vaguely sinister monologue in the orgy room of the homosexual bar from *The International Stud*, part one of the stage trilogy. Even if this scene had not been made obsolete by AIDS, it would not have worked on film. A stylized monologue with a blotted-out background, merely suggested by light or sound effects, is impossible on film; the almost unavoidable literalness of the camera would have made the needed distancing by stylization unachievable.

TALK RADIO loses even more in the screen version Oliver Stone—rapidly becoming one of the most obnoxious filmmakers around—foisted on Eric Bogosian, the playwright and protagonist. On stage, *Talk Radio* was mainly a satire on radio talk shows, a curious phenomenon on the American scene. For it is here that all kinds of lonely and disturbed—or merely benighted and impotent—people can vent their fantasies, telling the talk-show host over the telephone their experi-

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

TWO EXCELLENT BOOKS merit reading, as well as reviewing, together: *Stalin and the Kirov Murder* (Oxford, $16.95), by Robert Conquest, and *Death in the Forest: The Story of the Katyn Forest Massacre* (Hippocrene Books, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016; $8.95), by Janusz K. Zawodny, first published in 1962, now in a new edition. Each begins with the factual account of a crime, goes on to examine the relevant evidence, and concludes with an assessment of the historical significance of the events. The effect, finally, is comparable to that produced by one of those rare crime novels in which, though the solution is apparent throughout, the reality of the action is so consummate as to generate total absorption and a kind of false suspense.

The assassination of Sergei Mironovich Kirov, Secretary of the Central and Leningrad Committees of the All-Union Communist Party, on December 1, 1934, by Leonid Vasilevich Nikolayev, not only set in motion the responses and counter-responses culminating directly in the great Soviet Terror later in the decade; in Conquest's words, it "was made the central justification for the whole theory of Stalinism and the necessity for endless terror." It also provided "the key moment which determined the development of the Soviet system, and so the future of the world."

Kirov was certainly no Menshevik; he was rather "the very model of the hard-line old Bolshevik," who, between 1930 and 1933, enthusiastically helped to wage the "class war" against the kulaks. By 1933, however, the completeness of the Bolshevik victory indicated to Kirov and others that a relaxation of the dictatorship was in order, in accordance with orthodox Marxist belief. Beginning in that year, a "Kirov line" began to develop as an alternative to Stalin's. Stalin, though accusing him of "liberalism," nevertheless indulged the mood of unanimity, which reached its apogee with the XVIIth Congress, held in February 1934, where a number of senior delegates approached Kirov with the proposal that he agree to become the new General Secretary. Though Kirov refused the offer, on the grounds that the effect of his replacing Stalin would be to undercut all that the Party had accomplished in the construction of socialism, as many as 289 of the 1,966 delegates present voted against Stalin. (These facts were only made "public"—if that is the word—by samizdat historians in the 1970s.) The sitting General Secretary, naturally, neither forgave nor forgot the episode; henceforth Kirov seems to have lived in fear of his life. But not for long.

The Leningrad NKVD, having combed police files, alighted finally on the disgruntled Nikolayev, whom it instigated and aided in effecting the shooting. This much at least is certain. Also certain is that the national reconciliation for which Kirov had worked was an instantaneous second casualty. Less certain is whether Stalin was involved, though Conquest makes the circumstantial case that the order for Kirov's death came from him. In any event, the official stories concocted to explain the murder were expanded over the next three years to include all of Stalin's "enemies," real and imagined, leading ultimately to the great Purge Trials. "If the Kirov case is the key to the Soviet Thirties," Conquest concludes, "it is also, in a different sense, the key to the Soviet Eighties. As the truth is flatly and finally told in Moscow, then we can really think in terms of the beginning of a true abreaction of Stalinism."

Death in the Forest, now nearly thirty years old, is to my knowledge the first full and scholarly account of how the NKVD slaughtered 15,000 captured Polish officers in the spring of 1940 in a deliberate attempt to divest Poland of its best and brightest, and of how, when the graves were discovered in 1941, Moscow sought to blame the massacre on the German occupation forces. Forty-five years after President Roosevelt protested to his Special Emissary for Balkan Affairs, who had just finished presenting him with evidence implicating the Soviets, "George, this is entirely German propaganda and a German plot. I am absolutely convinced the Russians did not do this," nobody on the right side of the Iron Curtain doubts that the Soviets were responsible. Nevertheless, Zawodny's descriptions of how 448 Polish officers out of 15,000 were culled by the NKVD, saved from death, and sent to undergo indoctrination intended to fit them to command a Red Polish Army, and of how the huge remainder went to their death and were stacked in mass graves above which young trees were planted, retain all their original force. When the first details of the massacre leaked out, they were instantly suppressed by the United States Government, which in fact managed to "lose" its chief extant report. During the Nuremberg Trials, the case of Katyn was obligingly dropped when facts embarrassing to the Soviet prosecutors began to be pushed forward, and for years after the war had ended the U.S. effectively squelched discussion of the affair where it could. "It can be understood why President Roosevelt avoided the issues which could bring about disharmony [in the Alliance]," Zawodny writes. "It might be the subject of interesting speculations, however, why *after* the cessation of hostilities . . . Katyn . . . was still suppressed by government officials in the United States?" □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ences with everything from cancer cures to flying saucers. The host, in turn, can humor or bully them, ridicule or insult and hang up on them. There is enough drama in this to indulge the insomniac listener's every need from feeling superior to those poor boobs to outright sadomasochism.

Bogosian, who has listened carefully to these "shock radio" programs, and who is a terrific mimic in writing and speaking, as well as an oversized, discomfiting personality in his own right —rather like a huge, bug-eyed teddy bear possessed by a particularly foul demon—made a fascinating stage figure out of the host, Barry Champlain. (Notice how well that *nom de* broadcasting resonates.) He showed us how this Jewish man used the Holocaust disingenuously to make himself holier than thou while also arousing the religious, patriotic, fascist fanaticism of some of his fans. And he sketched in just enough figures around Barry: his devoted young producer who is also his mistress, his station manager who bullies him as Barry bullies his staff, his most dangerously volatile fan, whom Barry foolhardily invites to the studio (in Cleveland on stage, but upped to Dallas in the movie), the fellow inspecting his show for national syndication.

The film, however, introduces pretentious excesses. First, Barry's ex-wife and former collaborator, on whom Barry is still emotionally dependent; second, elements from a book about the murder by neo-Nazis of the Denver talk-show host Alan Berg, perhaps even weirder than Champlain. All this opens up and sensationalizes the movie, as does Stone's overheated direction; lost, though, is much of the everynight pathos and bittersweet ludicrousness of talk radio.

The main difficulty with the transfer is that—even more than Harvey Fierstein—Bogosian is a performer and persona too big for the screen. You sit there watching him burn a hole into the film while Stone is hitting you with frenetic camera work and commensurately incontinent sound, and it's overkill time once again. The flashbacks to Barry's clothing-store-clerk beginnings don't help, Ellen Greene is too obvious as the ex-wife, and the Alan Berg increments make for a tabloid addition that really detracts from the basic, pervasive sordidness the play was so effectively exposing.

Most of the supporting roles are adequately handled, but the standout is Alec Baldwin's ruthless station manager. Baldwin is proving himself much more than the standard *jeune premier*. On stage, he did fine work in British character parts in *Loot* and *Serious Money*; on screen he showed his versatility as Michelle Pfeiffer's Mafioso husband in *Married to the Mob* and as Melanie Griffith's stud in *Working Girl*. He is *the* young actor to watch: he makes it even with an Oliver Stone around his neck. □

DELECTATIONS

SNOBS OF THE VINE

Nika Hazelton

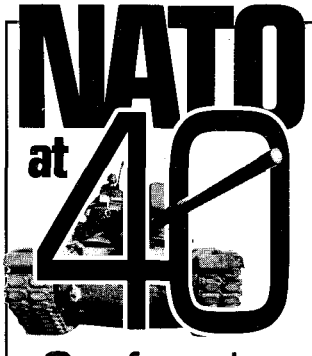
As ducks need a puddle of water to be happy, human beings need to be able to impress. Making an impression, however, need not be as time-consuming an enterprise as, say, learning everything there is to know about computers, or as demanding as hang-gliding. Instead, all you need do

MAKE YOUR TWO-STORY HOME A ONE-STORY HOME WITH "ELEVETTE"®

"Elevette" is a residence elevator, custom-built to a size suitable for your home and can serve two or more floors. If your doctor recommends an "Elevette," it's tax-deductible.

Send for free literature on how to make your two-story home into a one-story home. Write:

INCLINATOR COMPANY OF AMERICA
Dept. 27
P.O. Box 1557
Harrisburg, PA 17105-1557



Confronting a Changing World

A Cato Institute Conference
April 3–4, 1989
The Willard Hotel
Washington, D.C.

CATO INSTITUTE

The costs and risks of America's NATO commitments, the potential military capabilities of the alliance's European members, the challenge posed by Mikhail Gorbachev's sophisticated diplomatic offensive, and the feasibility of a new U.S. policy of strategic independence are topics to be discussed at this Cato Institute conference marking NATO's 40th anniversary. Speakers will include *Earl C. Ravenal, Ronald Steel, Melvyn Krauss, David P. Calleo, Josef Joffe, Christopher Layne, William Lind, Robert Hunter,* and *Irving Kristol.*

Registration is $125 ($65 for nonprofit organizations). It includes all lectures, two luncheons, and a reception. For additional information, please contact Sandra McCluskey at (202) 546-0200. Make checks payable to Cato Institute, Dept. NA, 224 Second Street S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is learn to choose a good wine, serve it with a good meal, and toss off some remarks about matching food and wine. The choice can be as modest as a $7 bottle of red wine and beef stew made with wine. But even if you select a rare Lafite or an old Château d'Yquem with a genuine Alsace *foie gras*, the whole thing will still be infinitely cheaper than collecting antique cars or Boulle furniture. In short, if you want to impress, become a wine snob.

Wine snobbery has been with us ever since man learned to ferment the grape. We read that the Assyrian King Assurbanipal made a ritual of pouring wine over the carcasses of four lions, and that he frequently enjoyed a cup of it with his queen in the palace grape arbor. Wine was a delicacy among the upper classes in ancient Egypt—King Tut stocked his tomb with 26 bottles from his personal vintner, Res—while ordinary folks drank beer. Greece, until the first century of the Christian era, was the world's most famous producer of wines —it was to Roman wine lovers what Burgundy is to modern Americans. Wealthy Romans imported their wines from Chios and Lesbos, while the less wealthy drank local red plonk. The Golden Age of Italian wines began toward the end of the first century with the Opinian wines which pleased Rome's smart set, who later discarded them for Falernian squeezings.

Roman writers were not shy about holding forth concerning their preferences, as we learn from Martial and Horace, both true wine snobs. I imagine they were read with the same respect as we give our contemporary food and wine pundits. How the Romans must have pricked up their ears when Tiberius dismissed the principal wine of Sorrento as a "full-bodied vinegar." (I have drunk the *vin ordinaire* of Sorrento and found it to be just that: a red, very *ordinaire* wine, but drinkable as such.) Other wine snobs *par excellence* were Napoleon Bonaparte, who would drink only good Chambertin, and Bismarck, who could not swallow German *Sekt* but only French champagne.

But who really *is* a wine snob? Anybody who carefully matches food and wine? Somebody who writes honestly about his preferences, such as George Saintsbury, whose *Notes on a Cellar-Book* became a revolutionary

classic when it first appeared in 1920? Raymond Postgate, another Englishman who wrote about wine long before wine writing became an American institution, defines a wine snob as a man (wine snobbery being a vice far more common among men than women) who uses an often imperfect knowledge of wine to impress others with a sense of his superiority, and who enjoys wine itself far less than the rituals attached to it.

As for the attempts of wine snobs over several millennia to capture in precise words the virtues of their most adored fluids ("clean," "dry," "light," "lively," etc.), I must insist that it is simply impossible to do so. Words, after all, mean different things to different people, according to social class, economic well-being, literary sophistication, health, digestion, domestic tranquillity (or the lack thereof), even one's luck in catching a taxi on the way to a restaurant some rainy night.

However, to those snobs who feel they simply must say something impressive as they sniff and swirl even the simplest, most honest wine, I offer the following suggestion from the *Bluffer's Guide to Wine*, by Nick Clarke: "It is a wine such as this that drove the wild-eyed Maenads to rend their clothes and tear poor Narcissus asunder, under the pale glow of Astarte's light." Cheers! □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941-1960, by John Patrick Diggins (Norton, 381 pp., $19.95)

PROFESSOR DIGGINS has addressed himself to an important subject: the period of American military and economic dominance that began with our entry into the Second World War and lasted through the 1950s. This was probably a unique era in our history: we had come through the Great Depression, and in 1945 we emerged from the war virtually all-powerful. American hegemony in the Truman-Eisenhower era played a part in shaping the consciousness of those —myself included—who came of age during Professor Diggins's "proud decades." Historically considered, the period had its roots in the Civil War, when the Federal forces built the east-west railroad system necessary to move large numbers of troops and their supplies around the borders of the Confederacy. Prior to the construction of this railroad system, American traffic moved along the north-south river system; St. Louis, on the Mississippi, was the major transit center. After the war, traffic moved east-west, and Chicago replaced St. Louis as the center. The great westward thrust that began in the fifteenth century as Europeans first crossed the Atlantic gathered speed as the Americans sank the Spanish ships at Manila, defeated the Japanese empire, and accepted the Japanese surrender on the deck of the battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay. This era—one of the great phenomena of world history—finally came to an end in Vietnam. I approached *The Proud Decades* with enormous anticipation, having written two books about the period myself. Having read it, however, I am unable to imagine the audience intended for this book, which consists entirely of a fast and superficial narration. You can hear the five-by-six cards marching along: Roosevelt . . . the war . . . Truman . . . the atomic bomb . . . Eisenhower . . . tail fins . . . Elvis Presley . . . television . . . Diggins offers no depth of analysis whatsoever. Nor does he offer any sense of the emotional weather of those years. I suppose the book might be useful to a high-school senior who wanted a kind of road map to the period, on which to mark passages he intended to explore later in serious depth. Much of the narrative writing is accurate, while one winces at Professor Diggins's attempts to deal with the thought of Reinhold Niebuhr, or the work of the abstract expressionists, or that of Sylvia Plath. One also repeatedly stumbles upon bizarre sentences and phrases, of which I offer one collector's item: "the presumably traitorous Alger Hiss." If *The Proud Decades* has any importance at all, it lies in its status as a representative sample of the academic sensibility of the 1980s. JEFFREY HART

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A RIGHT TO PRIVACY?

IN HIS REVIEW of *Original Intent and the Framers' Constitution* (*NR*, Dec. 30) Joseph Sobran disagrees vehemently with Leonard W. Levy for endorsing the idea of a constitutional right to privacy. This, says Sobran, is a fine example of what Burke called "these metaphysical rights of man." "Legally," Sobran writes, "there can be no such right, any more than there can be a constitutional 'right to justice.' "

Underlying this protest is the *Griswold* case of 1965, in which the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional a Connecticut statute that forbade dispensing birth-control information or contraceptive devices to married couples. The opinion of the Court—by Mr. Justice Douglas—was based upon the discovery of a right to privacy among the "penumbras formed by emanations" from the First, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Ninth Amendments. Douglas's penumbras and emanations have been the frequent occasion for much hilarity. But the hostility against *Griswold*—so marked in Mr. Sobran—arises not so much from the decision itself as from the use to which it was put in the 1973 decision in *Roe* v. *Wade*. There the Court discovered that the right to privacy discovered in *Griswold* was "broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy." Like many conservatives, Sobran sees *Griswold* as a stepping-stone to *Roe*. In this I think he is mistaken. That there is no *necessary* connection between the two decisions is shown by the fact that Justice White concurred in the former and dissented in the latter.

According to Sobran:

> . . . the eighteenth-century minds of Madison and his peers were not too antediluvian to formulate a right to privacy. But they understood that so general a right was too general even for a Constitution. It could mean too many things, not all of which the United States could be committed to. So they protected privacy, like liberty, through more specific provisions, such as the guarantee against unreasonable search and seizure.

If Sobran had not been so bemused by inapplicable quotations from Burke, he might have taken the trouble to read the Constitution. Had he done so, he would have found that liberty—whether like or unlike privacy—*is* one of the rights guaranteed in the Bill of Rights. According to the Fifth Amendment (applied to the states in the Fourteenth): "No person . . . shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law . . ." Even the original articles of the Constitution are filled with concepts of just such generality, as for example, the "general welfare" and "necessary and proper" clauses of Article I, Section 8, clauses whose interpretation divided many among those who had framed and those who had ratified the Constitution.

In the hearings on the nomination of Judge Robert Bork to the Supreme Court, nothing was more troublesome to the senators on the Judiciary Committee than Judge Bork's refusal —like Sobran—to concede the validity of the idea that there was a right to privacy protected by the Constitution. Clearly, the reason it troubled the senators is that it troubled their constituents.
ordinary Americans, stopped on the street and asked if they believed there was such a thing as a constitutional right to privacy, would answer emphatically in the affirmative. Bork, like Sobran, said that such a right was too general, and might encompass drug use, wife abuse, or sodomy. But this answer was absurd. Every such right is always understood to be limited to uses which, if not always innocent, at least do not result in harms or injuries that the law might rightfully prevent. Freedom of speech does not entitle one falsely to shout "Fire!" in a crowded theater, to libel or slander others, to use "fighting words" or obscenity. It does not even entitle businessmen to discuss prices with each other, or tell their workers not to join a union. The free exercise of religion does not encompass polygamy, or suttee, or snake handling in worship services, or for that matter human sacrifices or temple prostitution. The right to privacy is not a whit more abstract, metaphysical, or general than any of the other rights that are constitutionally protected. Both the courts and the legislatures must give concrete definition to all such rights by saying what they do permit and what they do not permit in actual circumstances.

WHY DID Madison and his eighteenth-century mind not mention the right to privacy—as Sobran thinks he would have done—had he wished it to be protected? Here is the answer that Judge Bork gave in an article entitled "The Supreme Court Needs a New Philosophy," published in the December 1968 *Fortune*:

> Legitimate activism [sic!] requires . . . a warrant for the Court to move beyond the limited range of substantive rights that can be derived from the traditional sources of constitutional law. The case for locating this warrant in the long-ignored Ninth Amendment was persuasively argued by Justice Arthur J. Goldberg in a concurring opinion in *Griswold* v. *Connecticut*. . . . The Ninth Amendment (the work, not surprisingly, of James Madison) states: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." This seems to mean that the Bill of Rights is an incomplete, open-ended document, and that the work of completion is, at least

Mr. Jaffa is Henry Salvatori Research Professor of Political Philosophy at Claremont-McKenna College and Claremont Graduate School.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in major part, a task for the Supreme Court.

Bork's position in 1968 is basically that of Levy in his new book.

Why did Bork abandon this position in the intervening years? He did so for the worst of reasons: his conversion to pure legal positivism. He came to reject the idea of natural rights and natural law which "the Madisonian system" embraced. As Levy makes clear, however, this "system" was no more characteristic of Madison than of any of the other eminent public men of his generation. It was indeed the philosophical framework of the Constitution, and the necessary foundation of anything that might authentically be called a jurisprudence of original intent. However much doubt Professor Levy may cast upon the utility of original intent as the basis for interpreting other aspects of the Constitution, with respect to the Ninth Amendment and a natural right to privacy he is a persuasive advocate. □

Mr. Sobran Replies

As 'LIBERTY' is used in the Fifth Amendment, it doesn't support Mr. Jaffa's case, it hurts it. The context makes clear that the liberty in question is the specific liberty to move around unincarcerated (which is also, I understand, how the term is used in Blackstone). The provision means simply that we can't be imprisoned (or hanged, or stripped of our possessions) without a trial. If "liberty" in this provision meant any liberty whatever, then nearly every law would be unconstitutional, since most laws forbid us to do things.

We have to be on our guard against reading modern meanings into old words. When Iago says, "Let me be [Cassio's] undertaker," it helps to know that "undertaker" hadn't yet come to mean "mortician" when the words were written. It likewise helps to know that "liberty," in 1789, hadn't yet come to mean what the ACLU means by it today.

The Constitution does protect privacy, but that's quite a different thing from declaring privacy a "right." Yes, the Constitution contains other phrases of troublesome generality, but why add one more that isn't there?

I do see *Griswold* as a stepping-stone to *Roe*. So did William O. Douglas. So does Harry Blackmun. There may be no "necessary" connection between the two cases, but the Court has connected them anyway. The problem isn't logical necessity but the Court's free associations. (You'll notice that Byron White was outvoted in *Roe*.) *Griswold* can be a stepping-stone to just about anything.

The heart of the problem is that the Court can now use the Constitution as it pleases. It can use the Ninth Amendment to strike down any law it dislikes by averring that such law infringes whatever the Court chooses to call one of our unenumerated rights.

In the real world, this means that the Court can repeal state laws at its whim, since the state legislatures are defenseless against the federal judiciary. (The Court is more circumspect about tangling with Congress. Congress can fight back.) And in fact the Court's constructions of "new" rights have followed not the imperatives of the Constitution as it was historically understood on all sides, from its drafting and ratification until very recently, but the contemporary liberal agenda.

Mr. Jaffa says it's "absurd" to use the right of privacy to cover, say, sodomy. But that's exactly how Blackmun and three of his colleagues tried to use it in a recent case. True, there is no necessary connection between *Griswold* and *Roe*. The more important point is that there is no necessary connection between the Constitution and *Griswold*.

But if it's true that every tenth "ordinary American" understands that privacy is not a constitutional right, all is not lost. □

RYN

(Continued from page 32)

many places criminals compete successfully with government for control. Most crimes go unpunished.

In society at large traditional mores and the corresponding social institutions are eroding. The disappearance of an older sexual morality is not only undermining the family and all of what it contributes to society but producing epidemics of venereal disease and AIDS. Abortions are performed routinely in staggering numbers. Drug use or abuse is rampant. Standards of personal behavior and deportment are low or declining. Honesty and integrity are fading away. Low academic standards are actually insisted upon by many teachers. Workmanship is poor. In the arts, the weird, the morbid, and the vulgar qualify for praise. The representatives of organized religion speak little or not at all about sin in the traditional sense or about the need for repentance but turn religion into a sentimental ritual of "compassion." Worship of news replaces a concern for lasting truth and wisdom. Some of what is demanded and tolerated in the marketplace today would horrified earlier generations. Throughout society, an ever-tolerant permissiveness chips away at lingering norms.

In politics, standards of character are deteriorating. Persons of genuine insight and capacity for leadership are exceedingly rare and hesitate to participate because of the "rules of the game." Hypocrisy abounds. While democracy and the wisdom of the people are lauded, candidates for office show in their campaigns that they actually assume the electorate to consist of ignorant fools. The media compound a distressing situation by their own superficialities, irresponsibilities, and ideological agendas.

A decline of moral, intellectual, and cultural standards is thus much in evidence. Do then the democratists incessantly call for rejecting all illusions about the state of democracy to try to avert its self-destruction? Do they repeatedly warn that American constitutional democracy cannot survive without the kind of moral, intellectual, and cultural underpinnings that made it possible in the first place? If they did, they would not be democratist enthusiasts.

Democratists do take note of imperfections, including remaining obstacles to equality of democratic opportunity. But what is most compelling to them about contemporary democracy, especially in America, is not its flaws but its great progress and promise. The lasting impression left by them is one of self-satisfaction: democracy exudes a radiant health that should be shared as soon as possible with the rest of mankind. With champions like these, democracy does not need enemies. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Literary

USED BOOKS: Buckley, Kirk, etc. For list, write to: Partisan Books, Box 549, Iowa City, Iowa 52244.

ARMAGEDDON—WHAT IS IT? How close are we to it? Read an authentic account of civilization's end in *Creation and Culmination*, by Bible scholar Arthur E. Standard. Hardcover, illustrated, 40% discount. Send $10.80 to D&S Distributors, P.O. Box 296, Chester, N.J. 07930.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P.O. Box 1178NR, Culpeper, Va. 22701-6324.

PUBLISH YOUR BOOK! Join our successful authors. All subjects invited. Publicity, advertising, beautiful books. Send for fact-filled booklet and free manuscript report. Carlton Press, Dept. NRC, 11 W. 32nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10001.

Personal

(NR extends maximum freedom in this column, but NR's maximum freedom may be another man's straitjacket. For NR box numbers only, send responses to NR Box ____, National Review, 150 E. 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.)

WRITER, MALE, 26. Interested in photography, painting, guitar soloing, hiking, racquetball, poetry, psychology, philosophy. Seeks mature, honest, affectionate female with similar interests for correspondence and friendship. NR Box 6156.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS' EXCHANGE®. Nationwide link between unattached music lovers. CMLE, Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803.

FEMALE CORRESPONDENCE FRIENDSHIP desired by successful, sophisticated gentleman. Fancies letters, literature, intellectualism, intimacy. NR Box 6150.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA MALE, 31, Christian, handsome. Likes art, tennis, travel. Seeks attractive, interesting female, 20–30. NR Box 6152.

ALLURING, EDUCATED Filipina ladies (in Philippines) yearn for friendship, love, marriage. White Lotus International, P.O. Box 30633, Honolulu, Hawaii 96820.

Financial

CYCLICAL AND OTHER technical methods focus on timing of stock and commodity markets. Sample copy of *The RWB Letter* on request. Box 454153, Miami, Fla. 33245.

For Sale

ORGANIZE YOUR CASSETTES and CDs. We have attractive holders available for as few as 14 to as many as 160 cassettes, or 216 CDs. Find out! Maverick Designs, Inc., 1117 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02215.

PRESCRIPTION DRUGS. Low prices include shipping, professional service. For quotations, please list drugs, monthly quantities. Pharmail Pharmacy, Box 1466, Champlain, N.Y. 12919-1466.

COPING MECHANISM. Wall-mount, window, bumper decal: "Honk If You Can't Cope." $2.50. Attention psychiatrists: 12% discount. Lakeland Works, Box 230X, Pompton Lakes, N.J. 07442.

BIORHYTHM CHARTS, with personalized instructions. For surgeons, physicians, counselors, businesses, athletes, infants, etc.: 3 months for $25, 1 year for $45. Dr. A. Dechene, 1014 Ambrosia, Mesa, Ariz. 85205. Include birthdate.

Employment Opportunities

NATIONAL REVIEW'S marketing department needs an assistant. Duties include typing, filing, Xeroxing, and special projects. Computer experience helpful but not necessary. A sense of humor is definitely helpful and necessary. Call 212-679-7330, ext. 267, between 10 A.M. and 12 P.M.

Services

CONSERVATIVE ENTREPRENEURS will screenprint T-shirts, sweatshirts for your business, organization, event. Call Tom Hession for price quote: 617-331-4795.

COPIN'S CATERING, INC. (New York City): specializing in home/apartment dinner parties. 516-766-2644.

Vacation

OLD-FASHIONED, SECLUDED FARM on Cape Breton Island offers log cabins, excellent meals, tranquility, and discount to *NR* readers. Write: John Gardner, Orangedale, Nova Scotia, Canada.

LONDON, ENGLAND: luxurious one-bedroom flat in newly restored Georgian building overlooking river Thames. Close to Houses of Parliament. Details: 602-299-6395.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

NEAL PEIRCE:

Another False Alarm

Federal-aid cuts ordered by this cold-hearted Californian would throw state and local America onto the fiscal rocks. Mayors and social advocates feared Reaganomics would cause deep suffering in the cities and rural America. It didn't happen.

CLASSIFIED ORDER FORM

Rates: $3.00 per word, with 10-word minimum. A word is defined as anything normally falling between spaces, although in the case of hyphenated compounds of independent units, each unit counts as one word (e.g., three words in "classical-music lover," but two words in "pre-war apartment"). Phone number, zip code, and all permitted abbreviations count as one word. Permitted abbreviations include titles (M.D., Ph.D.), business and organization names (IBM, USMC), state and country names (N.Y., U.S.), and miscellaneous items such as A.P.O., RR, S.A.S.E., P.O. Box. Aside from these exceptions, no abbreviations allowed.

Discount Rates: $2.75 per word per insertion for 4 insertions; $2.50 per word per insertion for 6 insertions; $2.25 per word per insertion for 8 or more insertions. No agency discounts.

NR Box Numbers: Available for an additional $5.00. Include "NR Box ____" in text of ad (three words). Responses will be forwarded for six months.

Restrictions: Personal advertisements must specify at least 3 interests. NR does not accept classified political advertisements, or advertisements that are solicitations for funds. NR reserves the right to reject any copy.

To Order: Full payment in advance is required, by either check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa. No telephone orders. Orders must be received 35 days before cover date. Address: Classified Director, National Review, 150 E. 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Enclosed is payment of $_____ for ____ insertions.

For credit card, indicate whether MC ___ or Visa ___

Card Number _____ **Exp. Date** _____

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip Code _____ Phone _____

Attach ad, typewritten if possible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VICTORS' JUSTICE: DANGER AHEAD

NEW YORK, FEB. 15

FEBRUARY 15, 1989, is a historic day, and this is true wherever you sit, on the sunny side of the arena, whence Mikhail Gorbachev looks like St. Francis of Assisi come to redeem the Soviet Union; or on the shady side, which views Gorbachev as a determined nationalist who, however, knows when realism is the major player, even as Lenin knew it when he turned to his New Economic Policy in 1921 and invited the capitalists to come on in and look around. February 15, 1989, is the date on which for the first time since the spirited winter of 1939-40 in Finland, the Soviet Army backed away, undermining its legendary invincibility.

We have much to be apprehensive about in the months ahead. The mullahs who are destined to take over the country they defended so vigorously are, so to speak, not PLU (People Like Us). It is even conceivable that a few years down the line some people will publicly mourn the government of President Najibullah. Oh, he is still in power, but soon he will join the company of such as Idi Amin, Emperor Bokassa, and Pol Pot—deposed leaders who presided over sadistic governments. So gruesome was Pol Pot's management of Cambodia that the world was actually grateful to the Vietnamese, of all people, for marching in and deposing him in 1979.

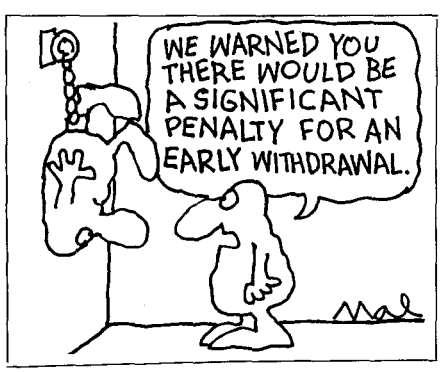
The (London) *Sunday Times* gives a portrait of one of the *mujahedin*, Mullah Naquib. An understanding of his attitude toward the soldiers and civilians who fought for or aided President Najibullah during the nine years of Soviet occupation is enhanced by the knowledge that during the war years he buried two thousand comrades-in-arms. His attitude, when interviewed by reporter Jon Anderson, is pretty straightforward, easily recalled by the sentiment widely circulated in America in certain regions, at certain times: "The only good injun is a dead injun." The Mullah Naquib feels this way about the Communists ("They should all be killed.").

"But the law for civilians is no less harsh," says Mr. Anderson. "In an indication of what may unfold in Afghanistan, two elderly *maulavi*—judges appointed by the *mujahedin*—have sent out edicts to rebel commanders urging them to exercise more control over civilians by curbing such excesses as 'the playing of tape-recorded music.'

"The two white-turbanned Kandahar judges, who are looked upon by most rebel fighters with deep reverence, hold court in a sun-drenched mud patio at the rear of an adobe raisin silo. Claimants and defendants, seated on the ground around the patio, are carefully watched by a dozen guards armed with weapons ranging from assault rifles to rocket launchers. The judges have ordered the execution of murderers, the stoning to death of adulterers, and the surgical amputation of a thief's hand. Only civilian transgressors are passed before their court; government 'spies' and suspected informers are summarily tried and executed by the fighters and mullahs like Naquib."

In this space it was recently relevant to cite comparable casualties—deaths—in the U.S., and the figure came to 18 million Americans who'd have been killed if we had suffered such an invasion as Afghanistan has suffered. Reeling from such an experience, justice in America probably would not be in the tradition of the Warren Court. Even before the Russians moved in, Afghanistan would not have required almost ten years to execute Ted Bundy.

Still, we must do what we can to influence the *mujahedin* to moderation, not only because—as Lincoln reminded us in the most striking stretch of prose written in the nineteenth century—the end of a war should inspire in us not the example set by the Romans in Carthage, but the example set by Jesus on the Cross. There is that mandate, but also another consideration, namely letting the blame fester where it truly belongs, which is in the Soviet Union.



A Russian who lives in Switzerland (Prince Nicholas Romanov, no less) has every reason to despise the people who currently run what used to be his country. But he is glad to see the Soviet soldiers safely out of Afghanistan. They are an important force, he reminds us. They have learned, in Afghanistan, the kind of independence of action and of judgment utterly at odds with the tradition of Bolshevik servility. These are men many of whom tolerated and even participated in widespread desertions. Men who openly questioned the foreign policy of the government that had sent them on this bootless military enterprise. They will be returning now to the Soviet Union. Granted that country is huge enough to swallow nearly anything. Still, it will be contending for years with the results of its disastrous folly, and more than a million Soviet war veterans will be loose to talk about what they saw, and what they were forced to do. □

ON THE FITNESS OF TOWER

NEW YORK, FEB. 17

THE PRESS has been having a jolly good time on the matter of John Tower's fitness to serve as Secretary of Defense. We are invited to believe that if he participates in any of the activities engaged in by Alexander the Great, Napoleon, and General Grant, he is unfit to serve.

The key figure, of course, is Senator Sam Nunn, around whose judgments gravitas closes in like clouds gathering around a prophet. About a year ago, Senator Nunn suddenly announced that the stricter of two plausible versions of the ABM ban on testing was the correct one, and I swear it was like the Pope pronouncing ex officio on a question of dogma. Although a skillful former judge, legal advisor to the State Department, presented overwhelming evidence that the strict construction was not the understanding at which the Soviet and American negotiators had arrived—never mind, Senator Nunn had spoken. And now Senator Nunn has said that after all, to be Secretary of Defense is a 24-hour job.

Now the trouble with declamations of that order is that they bring with them that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inertial force of authority that tends to silence analytical inspection. If you say, gravely, that being a good husband is a 24-hour job, who is going to disagree with you? If you say, Being a good American is a 24-hour job! who is going to drag you to Hyde Park Corner to dissent?

The current issue of *Time* features some truly scandalous carelessness by our embassy in Moscow, under Arthur Hartman. And yet Mr. Hartman is widely considered as one of the best ambassadors we've got. Did he fail to consider his responsibilities as our ambassador a 24-hour job? You can see that it doesn't quite work in that way. What he did not do was put sufficient emphasis on the security question. To judge from the number of Americans who have recently betrayed U.S. secrets—mostly for money, interestingly enough, or for love—we have bred a generation who would rather give our secrets to Soviet agents than be charged with McCarthyism.

No job is a "24-hour job" in any meaningful sense of the word. On the matter of whisky, Lincoln faced that question most directly by inquiring into the brand General Grant drank, so that he might make it available to his other generals. John F. Kennedy wasn't Secretary of Defense, he was Commander-in-Chief, and if there was a bimbo in town he did not make a pass at, it must have been—we learn from progressively revealing accounts—that she had poison ivy: and yet, when the 24-hour-a-day crises arrived, he served as Commander-in-Chief. There are good arguments that he made the wrong decisions, for instance during the Bay of Pigs crisis, but none of these was traceable to the distractions of wine, women, or song. Successful men are not necessarily ascetic men, and although a public is within its rights in declining to elevate to the Presidency a candidate who flouts his immorality, it is simply mistaken to suppose that failed marriages and occasional draughts of good spirits ruin the night of our kindly and gentle nation, any more than they ruined the wedding at Cana.

A. M. Rosenthal of the *New York Times* raises a pretty good point when he says, look, John Tower and Sam Nunn were for 12 years members of the same Senate committee. And for twenty years John Tower was on that committee, during the end serving as its chairman. Surely they have an idea whether booze gets in the way of his thinking and judgment? It happens that I have seen John Tower here and there over the years in likely and unlikely places. We have had wine together in Saigon, and in Wichita, Kansas. In Washington of course, but also in Austin, Texas, where one night he and George Bush and I and other worthies drank to the success of the Republic and of Texas's Republicans. That was in 1970, and the Republic lost, but the loss was made more bearable by the high spirits of those who joined together to wish it a safe journey through the long winter.

Why is the confirmation of Mr. Tower being held up? After 24 years in the Senate, he leaves that body and makes a living as a consultant for that huge arm of industry devoted to making the hardware of defense. And at this occupation he is successful. One doesn't need to think for 24 hours to come up with the names of a half-dozen former Democratic Cabinet members who have been at least as successful plying their knowledge after the end of their official careers. No: They don't like Tower because he is a hard-boiled defender of the continuing role of the military. So is Sam Nunn—except when won over by eristic interpretations of a treaty he misunderstands as a guarantee of perpetual impotence in space. Mr. Bush is right to stand by his distinguished choice for Sec-Def. □

BUSH v. CONGRESS: A FORMULA

NEW YORK, FEB. 24

GEORGE BUSH's team may be getting some tactical satisfaction from its budget maneuvering at the expense of Congress. The approach certainly has its charms—it is one way of handling the line-item-veto problem. What Mr. Bush has done is suggest where certain economies can be effected, leaving it to Congress to say Yes to this one, No to that one. This formula makes it possible for the President to blame the Congress for any failure to bring down the budget to the level specified by Gramm-Rudman; or, indeed, to bring it down at all. But built into the formula are projections that the economic community believes to be synthetically optimistic. Congressional retaliation is based on attempting to fix in the public mind that the President anticipated revenues of ABC, a growth rate of XYZ, and interest rates of GHI—and that these were defective as predictions and disingenuous in conception. So that the public is left with the prospect of not knowing how much blame to assign to which party. This will lead to frustration and does much to discredit the claims of democratic government.

Mr. Bush is losing precious time. As is widely remarked (at systematic length by Professor Milton Friedman in his book *The Tyranny of the Status Quo*), a new President makes progress or doesn't in the first few months of his first term. This is the moment when reorientation of domestic policy is possible. Now in this respect George Bush suffers from a singular psychological burden, namely that any departure from the Reagan formula would seem to be disloyal and even aggressive. But the fact of it is that Mr. Reagan never really had any formula for handling the budget problem, except to ask for a line-item veto, and a constitutional amendment demanding a balanced budget. There are Americans by the millions who would like to see both these legislative innovations come to pass but they are as stalled as the ERA.

The Constitution is rather explicit about the duties of the President insofar as they touch on the points in question here. Article II Section 3 specifies that the President "shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Everybody agrees that it is necessary to cut government spending and not to increase tax levies.

Accordingly, President Bush should outline, stating in each case the priority he attaches to his proposal, the cuts he proposes. These ought not to be limited by considerations of entitlement. That is, even as he has proposed that during 1990 no indexation raises should be given to federal retirees, so he should make other recommendations, even those that would require Congress to revisit programs that have been designed automatically to increase, as by the system of entitlements.

This puts the burden on him to make those recommendations the Constitution charges him to make. But there should be a compensating identification mark for each congressman's reaction to those recommendations, and this identifying mark should have high political visibility. In the past, organizations have listed the dollar amount of monies that would have been spent by congressmen had all the money measures they faced been carried into law. Using a variant of this device, Mr. Bush might encourage a wide ventilation of individual reactions by individual congressmen. So that just as the voters could see how a President had opted to economize (First A, then B, then C, then D, then E), so could they see a congressman running for re-election with a widely advertised figure regularly associated alongside his name. Thus one would have running for re-election in 1990 not merely, Coelho, Tony (D., Calif.), but Coelho, Tony (D., Calif., $B185). This would translate: Tony Coelho, running for re-election, voted during his last term to spend on average $185 billion more than the government brought in in revenue.

AN EQUITABLE arrangement, that: The President listing his spending priorities, the Congress divulging individual responsibility for the discrepancy between revenues brought in, and expenses paid out. Mr. Bush has very little time ahead of him in which to spit out the half-baked potato and exercise the leadership the Constitution expects of him. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Members of this unelected Soviet body suffer a lesser turnover than Congress — 44 6 135 102 125 36 78 177 60

B. 85 per cent of America is this over the congressional pay raise — 178 67 14 55 99 123

C. Not warranted, like the pay raise — 175 51 61 32 185 76 1 84 181 22 156

D. Capitol Hill persuader — 112 83 46 93 146 66 12 128

E. Foggy Bottom function — 131 86 121 166 79 19 92 38 2 139

F. Sickening, like the pay raise — 108 5 144 87 37 77 62 159 118

G. These will be "pay-back" time for greedy congresspersons — 162 111 75 17 59 130 153 33 88

H. Where we all could live if we had a $135,000 annual salary (2 words) — 101 127 52 113 23 3 65 167 180 39

I. County in central Virginia — 164 98 41 133 31 114 70 11

J. City of David — 134 124 34 42 7 160 68 54 90

K. Engrave — 163 182 49 140

L. One kind of scholar — 95 172 122 56 109 24

M. Disney character, and descriptive of the pay raise — 20 174 136 103 82

N. Member of the majority party—for now — 119 151 63 18 29 74 184 104

O. Beneficiaries of the congressional pay raise — 142 116 30 45 129 161 94 16 69 150

P. Symbol of Nazism — 27 13 169 71 53 149 138 120

Q. Descriptive of many federal programs — 179 50 80 15 148 152 115 107

R. Ripoff, like the pay raise (2 words) — 143 28 64 9 91 145 47

S. Operatic highlights — 110 147 48 158 170

T. Redundant canine breed — 73 126 40 183 137 4 57 25

U. Art lover — 89 165 117 105 43 176 72

V. Symbol of lightness — 58 100 10 171 132 81 21

W. Like room-temperature soup — 154 168 85 141 35 97 173 8

X. Tax-and-spend top dogs should be kept on a tight one — 155 106 26 96 157

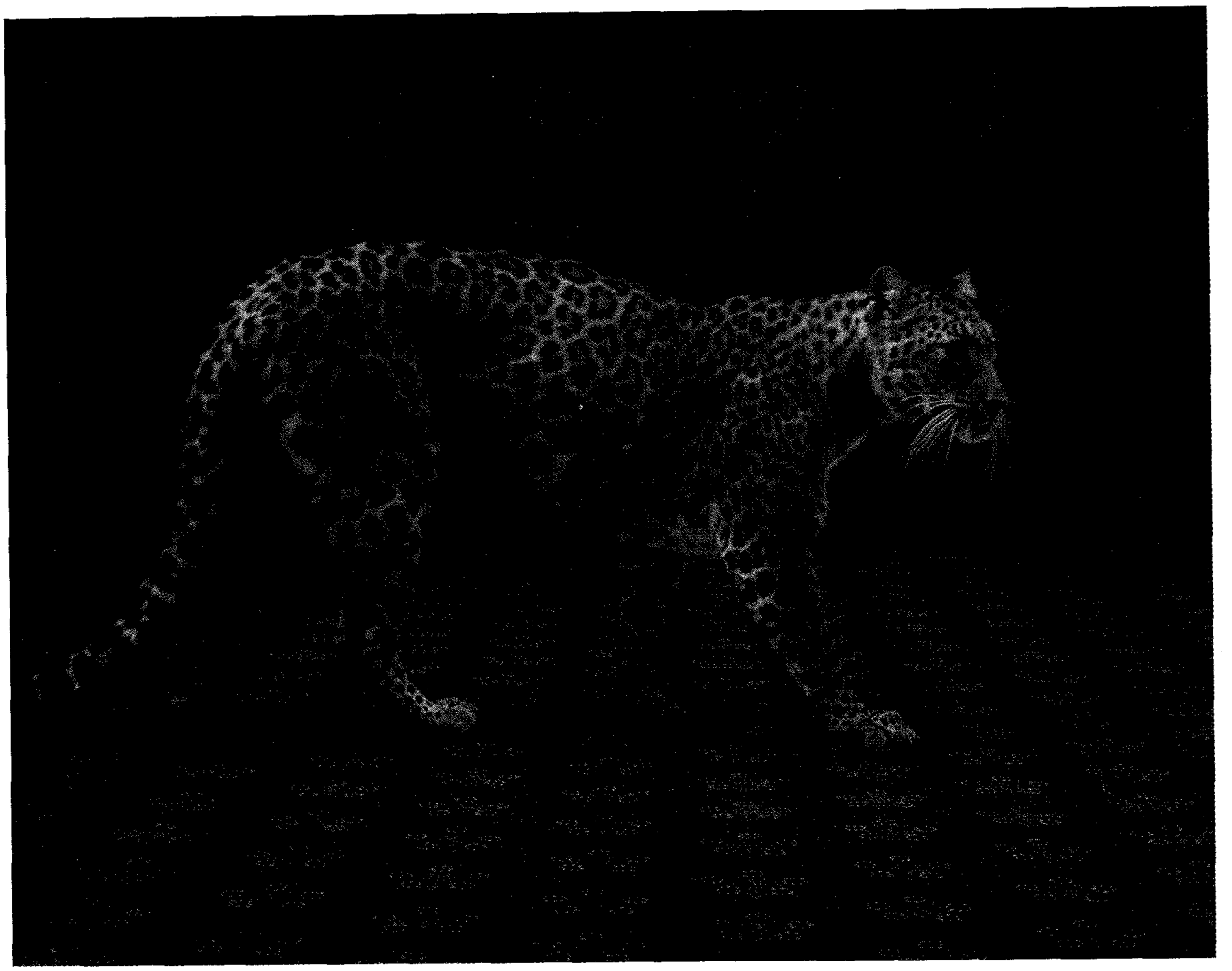
1 C I	2 E N		3 H T	4 T H	5 F E		6 A O	7 J L	8 W D		9 R D	10 V A	11 I Y	12 D S		13 P W	14 B H	15 Q E	16 O N		17 G C	18 N O	19 E N
20 M G	21 V R	22 C E	23 H S	24 L S		25 T W	26 X A	27 P S		28 R A	29 N C	30 O C	31 I O	32 C U	33 G N	34 J T	35 W A	36 A B	37 F L	38 E E		39 H T	40 T O
	41 I T	42 J H	43 U E		44 A P	45 O U	46 D B	47 R L	48 S I	49 K C		50 Q I	51 C N	52 H S	53 P T	54 J E	55 B A	56 L D		57 T O	58 V F		59 G T
60 A O		61 C J	62 F I	63 N M		64 R W	65 H R	66 D I	67 B G	68 J H	69 O T		70 I A		71 P S	72 U E	73 T C	74 N R	75 G E	76 C T		77 F S	78 A U
79 E R	80 Q V	81 V E	82 M Y		83 D O	84 C F		85 W H	86 E O	87 F U	88 G S	89 U E		90 J M	91 R E	92 E M	93 D B	94 O E	95 L R	96 X S		97 W T	98 I O
	99 B S	100V E	101H E		102A I	103M F		104N T	105U H	106X E	107Q Y		108F R	109L E	110S A	111G L	112D L	113H Y		114I W	115Q A	116O N	117U T
118F E	119N D		120P A		121E V	122L O	123B T	124J E		125A T	126T H	127H A	128D T		129Q M	130G I	131E G	132V H	133I T		134J B	135A L	136M O
137T C	138P K		139E T	140K H	141W E	142O I	143R R		144F P	145R A	146D Y		147S R	148Q A	149P I	150O S	151W E		152Q W	153G O	154W U	155X L	156C D
	157X H	158S A	159F V	160J E		161O B	162G E	163K E	164I N		165U S	166E E	167H E	168W N		169P A	170S S		171V T	172L H	173W E		174M O
175C U	176U T	177A R	178B A	179Q G	180H E		181C I	182K T		183T W	184N A	185C S											

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 53 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MILLIKEN



NATURE DIDN'T SACRIFICE BEAUTY FOR SPEED.

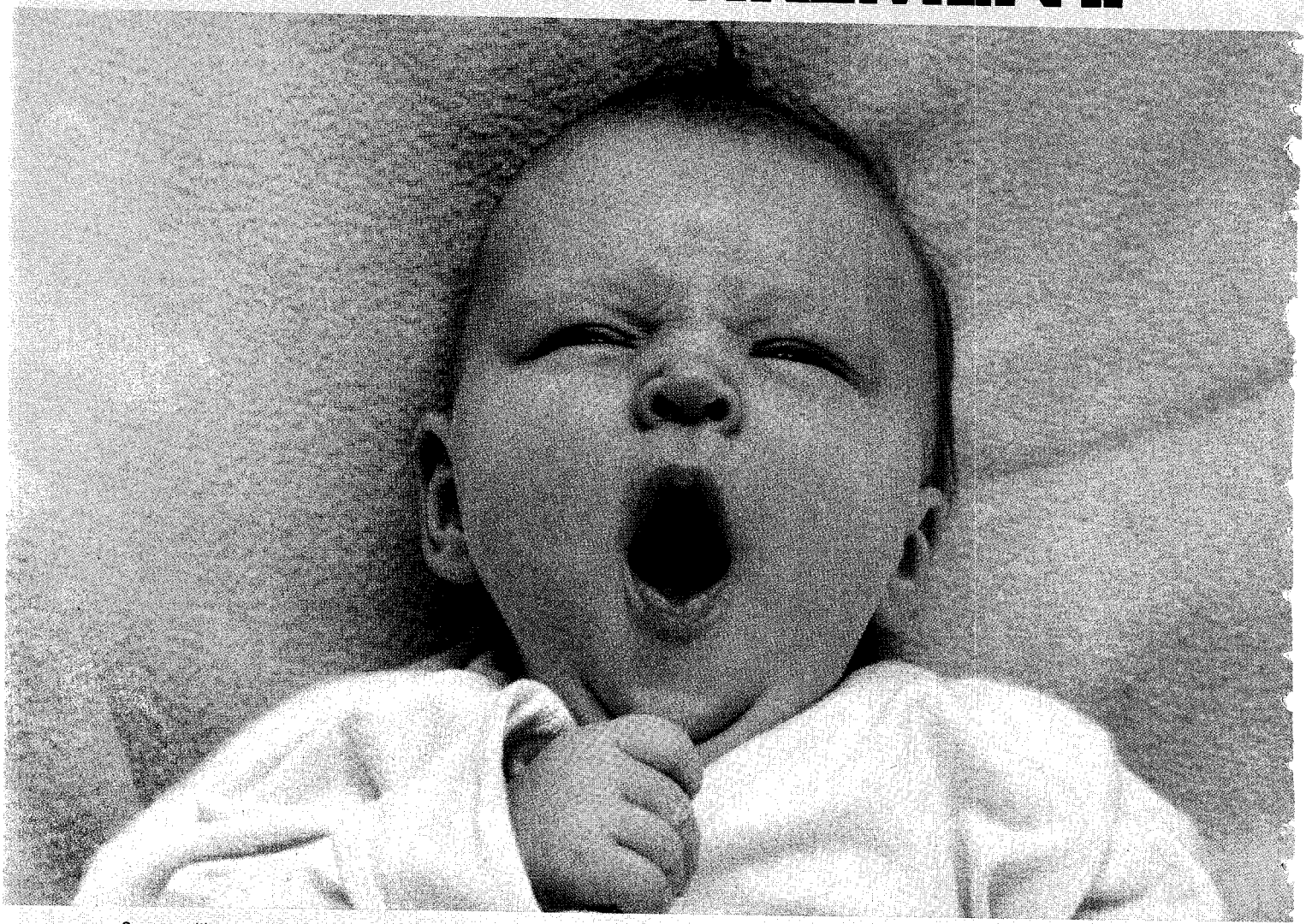
NEITHER DID WE.

Fast. Beautiful. Enduring. Now, you have a good idea of exactly what to expect from the extraordinary new Milliken Grand Collection. A carpet collection that recalls a time of elegance. With rich, intricate florals. Geometrics. Art deco designs. A collection that assures premium performance. A collection that is there when you need it. Simply select from our broad range of designs. And place your order. It will be ready to ship within seven days. That's right. Seven days. Quick, call toll-free, 800-334-7749, for the details. Then let nature take its course.

MILLIKEN GRAND COLLECTION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ONLY 22,463 DAYS UNTIL RETIREMENT.



Seems like an eternity.

But the fact of the matter is today people are retiring sooner than ever.

The average retirement age is now 61.5, not 65. And it's getting even lower.

It's a trend that has employers worried.

Because as more and more workers retire, employers end up paying more and more in post-retirement benefits.

At the CIGNA companies, we have a solution.

We've developed a variety of voluntary, portable payroll deduction plans that help relieve the employer's post-retirement financial burden.

In each of these programs, employees are given the opportunity to plan for a financially secure retirement at economical group rates.

They can choose from contemporary insurance programs like Group Universal Life that not only provide benefits at retirement, but allow access to accumulating funds during working years as well.

There are also other options available.

Like savings and investment vehicles.

Family insurance coverages.

Supplemental disability plans.

All these employee-paid benefits supplement, and, in some cases, replace existing programs, helping to reduce an employer's post-retirement costs.

We'll handle initial enrollment, ongoing plan management, and all employee communications, tailoring each program to minimize employer administrative time. We've even implemented a toll-free hotline to answer employee questions.

For more information about how we can help with the post-retirement cost problem, write CIGNA Corp., Dept. R12, One Logan Sq., Phila., PA 19103.

Employee Marketing will benefit you and your employees now. And 22,463 days from now.

It's one more example of CIGNA's commitment to personalized service to business.

CIGNA

Benefits are provided by Connecticut General Life Insurance Company, Life Insurance Company of North America and INA Life Insurance Company of New York, CIGNA companies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED